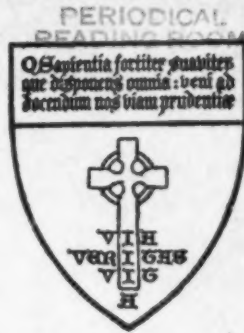


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NUMBER I

THESE ORDERS OF MINISTERS

By CHARLES MORTIMER GUILBERT

Berkeley, California

Two decades ago a paper on this subject would have had to be prefaced by an attempt to demonstrate that the establishment of the Church and the provision of a Ministry could be traced back to the teaching of Jesus. The writer would have had to rely almost exclusively on the studies of certain Anglican scholars, with the disquieting knowledge that the bulk of non-Roman scholarship, together with a surprising number even of Anglican writers, was united in interpreting the evidence differently.

Nineteenth century liberalism, which maintained the priority of the individual Christian to the local congregation and of the local congregation to the general Church, was far from dead. From this viewpoint, the Church was an excrescence upon the primitive "religion of Jesus," and the history of the ministry but a series of *ad hoc* adjustments to circumstances in a developing institutional life. Over against this theory was that of the ascendant eschatological school which was completely committed to the view that Jesus believed and taught the imminent irruption of the *eschaton*, and that any provision for an interval of this-worldly existence, however brief, is either a mis-reading of the text or an anachronistic gloss from a later period when the disappointment of the intense expectation of the *Parousia* had forced a "painful re-examination" of the situation and the invention of the Catholic Church.

The situation today is quite different. Scholars of many traditions are finding that the formation of a community, a "people of God," and

the constituting of an articulated structure for that community, is deeply and inextricably imbedded in the most primitive strata of Jesus' teaching; and that, not exclusively in proof-texts, but implicit in His Person, Function, and Ministry.

We start, then, with the action of Christ in calling to Himself twelve, "whom he would," as the nucleus of the People of God. That this was a symbolical action, most scholars agree: the Twelve represent the twelve tribes around whom the New Israel is to be gathered.

Jesus called twelve, "that they might be with him and that he might send them forth." It is from this sending forth (*apostellein*) that Matthew and Mark denominate them "apostles" upon their return from their mission. Except for this single instance, the constant practice of the first two Evangelists as well as the Fourth Evangelist, is to refer to them as "the Twelve." St. Luke on two occasions does use the word *Apostles* as a proper noun, but this is a peculiarity of his gospel and is generally interpreted as an anachronism, read back from a later time when the word had become a title.

We may take it as certain that from an early point in His ministry Jesus associated with Himself a body of men, twelve in number, who were regularly known as "The Twelve," though it is unlikely that Jesus ever addressed them as "you Twelve."

Cullmann points out that "the most important thing, however, is not merely the *choice* of the twelve disciples; it is above all the *mission* they received from Jesus,—that is, the role that he gives to this fellowship. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the command he gives in sending them forth refers to the identical *Messianic* functions that *Jesus himself* fulfils in his role of the 'Coming One'" (Cullmann, *Peter* p. 195). The commission is to proclaim the Messianic message, "Repent, for the Kingdom of God is come upon you." Their credentials are the power to exorcise and heal. They are, in every sense, to regard themselves as the accredited envoys of Jesus, and, through Him, of the King of Kings. Here we move into the area in which Dom Gregory Dix's studies (*The Apostolic Ministry*, Chapter IV) give great illumination. The Twelve were His ambassadors (*shalicho*) and "A man's *shaliach* is as himself." If the unique mission and function of the Messiah is transmissible there is no *a priori* reason why the derived function of The Twelve and the Apostles is not likewise transmissible.

When we leave the Gospels, the title "The Twelve," which has been the regular exclusive designation of the official group among Jesus'

disciples, practically disappears: it is found absolutely only twice more in the New Testament—in Acts 6:2 and I Cor. 15:5. Instead, they are now known by the adjectival term “apostles,” meaning “sent ones,” used substantively. Moreover, the name seems from the first to have included others beside The Twelve.

It is a commonplace that Barnabas and Paul are to be reckoned among the number. In addition to the unbroken tradition of the Church, they are so termed in Acts (14:4 and 14), and St. Paul insists upon it with fervor in I Cor. (chap. 9) as well as incidentally elsewhere (e.g., Gal. 1, *passim*). In addition to these two, the New Testament accords the title also to

3. James, the brother of Jesus (I Cor. 15:5; Gal. 1:19).
4. Silas (Silvanus) the companion of St. Paul (I Thess. 2:6). Therefore, by parity of reasoning,
5. Judas Barsabbas (Could he be brother to that Joseph Barsabbas, who was considered with Matthias for inclusion in the 12 in Acts 1:23?) who is associated with Silas and enumerated before him in Acts 15:22, 23.
- 6&7. Andronicus and Junias, mentioned in Rom. 16:7 by St. Paul as “men of note among the apostles,” but of whom nothing else is known.

Also, in a fragment of the writings of Papias of Hierapolis (fl. c. 140) preserved by the Church historian, Philip of Side, we learn of two others:

8. Aristion.
9. “Another John, whom he also called the Elder.”

It does not appear from the evidence that this list *exhausts* the membership of the Apostolic College; there is a certain fortuitousness about the preservation of the names. On the other hand, it does not appear, either, that the limits of the body were vague or undefined to the contemporary Church. In I Cor. 15:5, St. Paul lists the Resurrection appearances in a highly-stylized passage which many commentators believe to be a quotation from the primitive tradition:

“ . . . he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve.
Then to above five hundred brethren at once. . . .
Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles.
Last of all . . . he appeared to me also.”

The impression is strong that the number, and presumably the names

also, of those referred to as "all the apostles," were known, as is of course true of the parallel group, The Twelve. The same impression is made also by an earlier passage in the same epistle (9:5) where we read: "Do we (*i.e.*, Barnabas and Paul) not have the right to our food and drink . . . as the other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas?"

Of the Apostles, only St. Paul has left literary remains, from which we can ascertain how membership in the Apostolic College was determined. From a consideration of his writings we gather that to be an Apostle one must, *first*, have seen the Risen Christ (Gal. 1:15-17). It is this *desideratum* that explains St. Paul's insistence that Christ had appeared to him *in person*—not as a vision, merely—and that the appearance, though belated (I Cor. 15:5f), was of the same quality as those which took place during the "Great Forty Days." *Secondly*, an Apostle was one who had received a commission from the Risen Christ. Some have conjectured that the mere appearance implied the commission, but I feel that this is ruled out by the formula quoted in I Cor. 15:5—no one, so far as I know, has ever maintained that the "more than 500 brethren" to whom Jesus appeared on a single occasion, were to be reckoned with the Apostles.

I conclude, then, that the Apostolate was composed of a definite number of persons, including The Twelve; of whom only a few names are now known; and all of whom, except St. Paul, received a personal commission from the Risen Christ in the period between the Resurrection and the Ascension.

There is nothing in the Acts and the Epistles which corresponds with the charges delivered by Jesus on the occasion of the Mission of the Twelve (and, in St. Luke, of the Seventy). The functions of the Apostolate, must therefore be deduced from the recorded activities of the Apostles themselves. Again we are struck by the Messianic character of these actions: the emphasis, as before, is upon the proclamation of the Gospel.

In addition to the function of preaching (*kerygma*), the Apostles also perform, now that Jesus has ascended, other functions formerly reserved to Christ: 1. Teaching (*didache*), 2. "Bearing rule," 3. Imparting the Spirit, and 4. Sending forth.

The first instance of this last function is the ordination (in Acts 6) of the Seven. In this is probably to be seen the origin of the presbyterate, rather than of the diaconate, which has been the traditional interpretation of the passage, on the score that St. Luke, from what we

can observe of his technique in Luke-Acts is, on the one hand, unlikely to have neglected describing the origin of an order (the elders) which he frequently mentions; and, on the other hand, to have devoted so much space to another order (the deacons) which he never mentions at all. This is the position of A. M. Farrer's essay, "The Ministry in the New Testament," in Kirk's *The Apostolic Ministry*.

Dr. Farrer bolsters his case with an analysis of typological parallels between the passage and Moses' arrangements in Num. 11 (the "ordination of the seventy elders"). Now, typological interpretations do not carry conviction in all quarters: there is a sense of artificiality conveyed to the reader and an uneasy suspicion that, if they can be proved, the evangelist has been playing fast and loose with his sources in the interest of a pre-conceived pattern. This bit of typology, however, receives independent confirmation from the prayer for the ordination of presbyters in the primitive liturgy of Hippolytus, which reads (in B. S. Easton's translation): "Thou didst look upon thy chosen people and didst command Moses that he should choose presbyters, whom thou didst fill with thy Spirit, which thou gavest to thy servant."

Moses' seventy elders were chosen consequent upon a clamoring of a "mixed multitude" and in connection with the provision of food. Upon their being separated, God "took of the spirit which was upon (Moses), and . . . they prophesied." There certainly are striking parallels here with the story in Acts: it was the complaints of the Hellenists which led to the choosing of the Seven. They were chosen to "serve tables." But two of them at least (Stephen and Philip) are, almost from the first, primarily engaged in a preaching ministry, and Philip even becomes an itinerant. Some years later, when St. Paul visits Jerusalem with the collection of the Gentile churches, the elders of Jerusalem are engaged in just that administration of poor-relief which one would expect to be the natural development of the table-ministry for which the Seven were set apart.

The independence of the Gentile mission seems to have included an independent development in the organization of the local churches: only in Gentile areas do we hear of the existence of bishops and deacons. These orders do not, indeed, supplant the presbyterate, for in Acts 14:23 St. Paul is said to have "ordained elders in every Church," in connection with his first missionary journey. Elders and bishops are conjoined in Acts 20:17-38; and, in the Pastorals, a direction to choose out elders passes at once into a definition of the qualities desirable in a bishop. There is no record of St. Paul's use of the term

"elder," except by inference from the passage in Acts 20, where he is said to have called for the elders of the Church in Ephesus to meet him at Miletus. On the other hand, in Phil. 1:1, he addresses himself to "all the saints . . . at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons."

From the Acts we learn that the Church in Jerusalem was governed by a body closely parallel to the Sanhedrin of the Jewish Community: the high-priest plus the elders and scribes constituted the sanhedrin of the Jews; the Apostles (with St. James at their head) plus the elders makes up a Christian Sanhedrin. In the absence of evidence to the contrary it is not too far-fetched to conjecture that the local congregations in Palestine, also, would follow the Jewish pattern: a local sanhedrin of elders exercising oversight and performing the communal and liturgical functions necessary. With the frequent visits of Apostles from Jerusalem (and it is hard to escape the impression of much coming and going among the Christian congregations in Palestine) no more would be necessary.

In the Gentile mission it would be quite otherwise. With small Christian communities, widely separated from each other and from the apostolic headquarters in Antioch, some other arrangement was necessary in order to provide the requisite oversight. The obvious solution was correspondence. This involved two necessary functions: *first*, an agency to assemble, formulate, and transmit, intelligence from the local congregation to the Apostle-founder, and to receive and arrange for the publication of communications from the Apostle. This could be either a single correspondent or a committee of correspondence such as functioned in the American colonies prior to and during the Revolution. And, *secondly*, an agency to transport communications back and forth, because the imperial post was at this period unavailable to private subjects and the time was still three centuries away when it would be put at the disposal of the Church as a special concession.

It is precisely these functions of correspondence which we see performed by bishops and deacons in the New Testament period and in the sub-Apostolic Age. They are organs of unity.

It is true that we have only hints of this state of affairs in the New Testament, but it does suggest itself in several passages. The hypothesis explains the almost fortuitous mention of bishops and deacons in Phil. 1:1—they are the ones through whom the epistle is to be communicated to the saints. It gives significance to the emphasis on hospitality in the qualifications of bishops and deacons in the Pastorals, if those persons were charged with the responsibility of receiving mes-

sengers, entertaining them, and sending them on their way. It helps, again, in explaining the puzzling relations of John the Elder with Gaius and Diotrephes in II John: among the members of the local committee of correspondence (there may have been only two of them) Gaius received and Diotrephes repelled the messengers of the Elder.

In the period of the Apostolic Fathers, the hints become explicit. In the Shepherd of Hermas (Vis. 4:3) the author writes: "Send one (little scroll) to Clement. . . . Then Clement must send it to the cities abroad, for that is his function."

Again, the function of deacons as confidential messengers of the bishops is frequently referred to by Ignatius. For example, in Phil. 10:1, we read:

Word has reached me that the Church at Antioch in Syria is at peace. It is right for you as a Church of God to appoint a deacon to go there as an ambassador of God to congratulate them when they are gathered together, and to glorify the Name.

Later, in 11:2, he writes: "From [Troas] I am writing you by the hand of Burrhus (identified in Eph. as deacon of the Church of Ephesus) who was sent me by the Ephesians and Smyrnaeans, to do me honor."

Again, I Clement, which purports to be a letter from "The Church of God which abideth at Rome," is universally attributed to that Clement who stands third in the traditional lists of Bishops of Rome. This attribution becomes intelligible if, as Bishop, he were the Church's organ of communication. Then, the men mentioned by him in 65:1,—Claudius Ephebus, Valerius Bito, and Fortunatus—would naturally be identified as deacons of Rome who had borne the missive to Corinth and whom the Corinthians are bidden to "send back quickly . . . so that they may the sooner bring word of your peace."

With such responsible functions to perform, bishops and deacons would be chosen because of their probity and dependability. One would expect to find other functions, requiring like qualities, to be assigned them. This *did* happen and we find bishops as the normal celebrants at the Eucharist, and charged with poor-relief. In all of these functions the two orders are always found together, with the deacons as assistants to the bishops. Only once, in all the extant literature of the period do we find "elders and deacons" mentioned in the same passage. This is in Polycarp to the Philippians 5:3.

As performing many, diverse, and time-consuming, duties, bishops and deacons would be more and more full-time functionaries. St. Paul

may be glancing obliquely at the early stages of this tendency in Acts 20 when, in the latter part of the charge, and addressing the bishops, he reminds them of his practice of supporting himself in his three-year ministry among them. In spite of St. Paul's chiding, however, by the sub-apostolic period the functionaries are obviously giving their full time to their tasks and are being supported by the Church. The early bishop seems indeed to have been a species of executive secretary, or a secretariat, with administrative assistants.

There would be no *a priori* reason why, in a given church, there should be either a single bishop or an episcopal committee. It would depend strictly upon the available man-power or the natural predominance of a local leader. There are indications that both conditions obtained.

Granted the logistical situation, however, the need for the *function* would exist *ab initio*. There is no incongruity, therefore, in I Clement's statement that the Apostles "appointed their first-fruits as bishops and deacons", a clear echo of St. Paul's description of Stephanas and his household as the first-fruits of Achaia in his Epistle to the Corinthians. When St. Paul and St. Barnabas then, as recorded in Acts 14:23, "ordained them elders in every Church," it is possible to assume that they ordained some of the elders as bishops in the presbyteral body—elders like their brethren, but bishops in respect of their function of correspondence. Deacons may or may not have been set apart at the same time. There would be nothing strange, if, in the course of performing their functions, the bishops found a need for administrative assistants, and appointed and ordained deacons solely with the concurrence of their fellow-presbyters. This would be in line with the practice of later times, by which diaconal ordination was the exclusive prerogative of the bishop.

If this reconstruction be true, we have from the first in the Gentile mission, local churches governed by a body of presbyters, one or more of whom had been ordained for the special function of maintaining liaison between the local church and the over-arching authority of the Apostle, and also between Churches. Around the original function of this person or persons accumulated further functions: superintendency, presidency, shepherding. In all of these functions the bishop was assisted by deacons.

The tendency for there to be a single bishop in every Church must have been very strong for it to have prevailed so soon. By the time of

Ignatius (c.110 A.D.), in the third generation, a single bishop is all but universal.

Clement of Rome, I believe to have been a transition-case—the last survivor of an original college of bishops whose successors are single bishops. I am led to this conclusion by the strong local tradition that Linus, Anencletus, and Clement, all received ordination at the hands of St. Peter, together with the inherent propriety of finding a Christian triumvirate at Rome, where the historical precedent of the *triumvir* was so prominent.

The reasons for the emergence of a monepiscopacy are not hard to conjecture: the fact that committees are notoriously less efficient than a single presiding officer, the strain upon the slender finances of young congregations of a large establishment of supported clergy, and the powerful influence of the great centers and their bishops. Thus, Antioch and Ephesus both have traditions of monepiscopacy in the sub-Apostolic period. The latter city, as Goodspeed has cogently argued, was the most influential Christian center in the first quarter of the second century and only slowly relinquished that place to Rome, which, as we have seen, by the time of Clement (c. 95 A.D.), was also becoming, and by the middle of the century was definitely, a monepiscopacy.

The next stage in the evolution of the Ministry arose because of the tendency of the Apostles to settle down for protracted stays in one place. Thus, St. James seems to have been permanently resident in Jerusalem, and, upon his death, he was succeeded by two other members of our Lord's earthly family, one after another. John the Elder, —named by Papias, as we have seen, among the Apostles, and certainly writing as an Apostle in I John—dwelt at Ephesus to a great age. Likewise,—as, I believe, Cullmann demonstrates conclusively,—St. Peter had long ministries, first at Antioch and then at Rome. Even St. Paul, the classical figure of an itinerant, settled down for long stays: twelve years in Tarsus, an indefinite period at Antioch, two years at Corinth, three at Ephesus, and two each at Caesarea and Rome—not less than 23 years out of his total ministry of about 35 years. Tradition has the same account to give of St. Andrew and Philip the Apostle.

"The care of all the churches," of which St. Paul speaks, did not cease to weigh upon a settled Apostolate, but there is a limit beyond which vigorous correspondence and occasional visitations cannot go. It was to meet a growing need for more active supervision that there developed the institution of the Apostolic Delegate. This is the function performed by a Timothy and a Titus.

The Pastoral Epistles in their present form, most scholars agree, are not the work of St. Paul; but modern writers are more and more ready to detect in them fragments of genuine writings of the Apostle, and, at all events, they are reliable testimony as to the state of affairs and the mind of the Church as of the probable date of their composition (not later than the last decade of the 1st Century). They reveal to us a condition in which persons commissioned by an Apostle are exercising all of the Apostolic functions on the behalf of their principals. It is probably men performing these functions, and having this relationship with the Apostles, to whom I Clement refers by the term *ellogimoi andres*. This term, frequently translated colorlessly as "men of repute," is capable of being translated also "men accounted, or, reckoned in the account," and they are described as ordaining elders and bishops after the death of the Apostles.

In the Pastorals, Timothy is bidden to "do the work of an Evangelist." One other person in the New Testament is accorded that title, —Philip, one of the Seven. In Acts, Philip obviously does not have the functions of an Apostle. His work in Samaria needs the seal of the Apostolate, and his subsequent labors in Palestine do not suggest that he is more than a presbyter. After the Jewish War, however, a series of strong traditions place him in Lydia, in and around Hierapolis, clearly performing apostolic works. Perhaps, also, St. Mark,—formerly a companion of St. Paul's, as was Timothy, and later a fellow-worker with St. Peter,—has a similar role, according to the tradition which links his name with the establishment of the Church in Egypt.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that even the second group of apostolic figures have a tendency to settle down permanently: Titus at Ephesus, Philip the Evangelist at Hierapolis, Mark at Alexandria. This sets the stage for the next development—the localization of the apostolic functions in each Church.

Somewhere toward the close of the First Century the functions of the Apostolate begin to be transferred to individuals permanently resident in the local churches. In the meantime, a pair of developments had taken place there: *first*, the accumulation of other functions of leadership in the local community by the primitive bishop or bishops (at first only a correspondent or committee of correspondence), and, *second*, the dwindling of early colleges of bishops to a single holder of that office. To whom else could the apostolic functions be transferred? The elders are and remain a corporate body, with no more individual significance than members of a committee; and the deacons are from

the beginning a function of subordination and serving, not of leadership.

Without question, the transfer took place, and there is not the slightest echo of any controversy accompanying it. Every writer discounts an "argument from silence," but in this instance, at least, I believe it to be valid. In the opening years of the twentieth century the last of the Twelve Apostles of the Catholic Apostolic ("Irvingite") Church died, and, by reason of intense expectation of the end of the world, there was no provision for an apostolic succession. The voices of despair from the membership of that body all over the world are what we should expect to find in the not inconsiderable Christian literature of the period in which the last of the Apostles of the New Testament "fell on sleep." At the very least, we should expect to find a new revelation authorizing an extension of the Ministry. Nothing of the sort appears, and the transition is so smooth and silent that we cannot escape the impression that it must have been carried out under the personal supervision of the Apostles themselves. Tertullian, indeed, affirms as much: "The sequence of bishops traced back to its origin will be found to rest on the authority of John."

The general and essential functions of the Apostles were localized, but not the *name* nor the *particular* functions. This, too, is what we should have expected. The Messianic, but not the unique, functions of Christ devolve first upon the Twelve and then upon "all the Apostles;" but, "to have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us" (which St. Peter sets as the qualification of him who is to be chosen for Judas' place in the Twelve),—this cannot be transmitted; and in all of St. Paul's fierce protestations as to the authenticity of his apostolic credentials, he did not claim this, nor the name of the Twelve. Likewise, an Apostle was one who had seen and been commissioned by the Risen Lord. He was a living witness of the Resurrection. These qualifications could not be transmitted, either.

The name also seems not to have been assumed, at least permanently. It is true that St. Paul speaks of certain persons as "apostles of the churches," and in the sub-apostolic writings (notably, the *Didache*) we meet with officials bearing the name of apostles. The tendency, however, is to confine the use of the name, first, to those who are referred to as "all the Apostles",—the body to which St. Paul,

St. Barnabas, and St. James, belonged,—and, later, only to the Twelve, with the grudging inclusion of the three named above.

At this point we are at the stage of church life reflected in the letters of Ignatius: a single bishop, surrounded by a body of presbyters (among whom, from some points of view, he is a fellow-presbyter) exercising apostolic functions in a local congregation, and ministered to by a group of deacons. The bishop is the liturgist and the pastor of the Church, assisted in his functions by the deacons. The presbyterate seems to have no individualized functions—it (not they) “stands around” the bishop, and, together with him, “bears rule.”

Already, however, we get hints that on occasion a presbyter might be deputed to preside at a Eucharist. This, though, remains a proper function of the bishop, which is only delegated upon unusual occasions and then not permanently.

It is in the great centers of population—Alexandria and Rome—that the presbyterate acquires the status of an independent order with well-defined functions of liturgizing, shepherding, and teaching. When the local Church becomes unwieldy, so that it cannot longer continue to meet together for the Eucharist, the solution is either to create separate churches with complete organization—a bishop, a body of presbyters, and deacons—or to delegate such of the bishop’s functions as can be delegated to presbyters.

The ancient and unbroken tradition of the Church was to follow the lines of civil jurisdiction, so the latter solution obtained rather than that of multiplying episcopal organization. A temporary expedient in Asia Minor, the *chorepiscopus* (who was a sort of suffragan bishop with limited functions and no jurisdiction), presiding over country districts dependent upon a city, is already in process of decay when we first hear of it in the Fourth Century. In the rest of Christendom, we find the establishment of parish churches with a presbyter at the head, functioning under the high-priesthood of the bishop of the city or district, who retains the procreative functions—of ordination absolutely and of confirmation at least mediately.

Finally, during the Fourth Century again, the last stage of development is reached, wherein the diaconate is subordinated to the presbyterate. *This* transition did not take place without a struggle, which is reflected in the writings of St. Jerome and others in the period. But the issue was not long in doubt: when presbyters attained the liturgical and pastoral functions of bishops, deacons, who had been assist-

ants to the bishops in these matters, would ultimately become assistants to the parish priests.

It is only a step from this state of affairs to the concept of an hierarchical *cursus* through which the ordinand passes—from the inferior order of deacons, to the higher order of the presbyterate, and thence, if the lightning strikes, to the high-priesthood of the episcopate.

We have come a long way together, and I do not flatter myself that we are all agreed at every point. It has been my intention to demonstrate that, though the statement of it may be a simplification, it is not untenable to say, in the words of the Preface to the Ordinal:

It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

JUSTINIAN'S VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE GREEK CLASSICS

By GLANVILLE DOWNEY

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C.

Among the successive stages which mark the adoption and transformation by the Church of the classical Greek intellectual and literary heritage which has always constituted an element of strength in the Christian tradition, the reign of Justinian (A. D. 527-565) is one of the landmarks.¹ Ever since the fourth century, under the powerful leadership of the Cappadocian Fathers, Christian thinkers and educators had recognized the value, within the Christian framework, of the classical Greek writings, and education under Christian auspices had taken the shape which it has kept ever since, in essentials, though the classical element is no longer as prominent as it once was.² Jus-

¹The best available account of the reign of Justinian, and of the Emperor's personality, is that of E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire, Tome II, De la Disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la Mort de Justinien (476-565)* (Paris, 1949).

²On some of the educational problems of the fourth century, see the present writer's article "Education in the Christian Roman Empire: Christian and Pagan Theories under Constantine and his Successors," *Speculum*, XXXII (1957), pp. 48-61.

tinian's own position, and the situation of the Christian educational centers of his day, have not yet been properly appreciated. The emperor's activities were so vast, and so varied, that scholars have not yet been able to investigate in detail all the facets of the emperor's accomplishments; and it is the purpose of the present study to suggest some new views of the position occupied by the Greek classics in Justinian's conception of the type of education which was needed in the Christian Roman Empire of which he was the earthly head.

Justinian's twin aims, as is well known, were to restore the territorial and material splendor of the Roman Empire, which he considered had suffered as a result of the neglect and inefficiency of his immediate predecessors, and to stamp out heresy and paganism, and achieve complete religious harmony and unity among his subjects, for whose spiritual welfare he, as the vice-gerent of God on earth, was responsible. These were tremendous undertakings, and the emperor's success in them was limited. Nevertheless, in his own day his program was looked upon as a great revival of the Roman Empire, and at least Justinian himself had very clear cut conceptions of what he wanted to do; and in our study of the ideas of the times, Justinian's aims can be as instructive as his achievements.

The sixth century has been thought of in modern times as a post classical period and this is true in the sense that Classical Greek was no longer commonly spoken. But there was, at the time, no sense of any break with the classical past. If most people ordinarily spoke the *koine*, or even something worse, men of letters still wrote Attic Greek, and some of it is very good. Scholars and students thought of themselves as the direct heirs of ancient Greece and Rome, and the emperor was *imperator* and *Augustus*. Both in its own view of itself and from the historical point of view, the age of Justinian is a historical moment of prime importance in the transmission of our classical heritage within the framework of the intellectual tradition which the Church was building up in Greek lands. The best known monuments of the age of Justinian, perhaps, are the writings of Procopius and Paulus Silentiarius, some of the epigrams in the *Greek Anthology*, the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, the law code, the mosaics of Ravenna. Behind all this there was a very strong and very living vision of antiquity, something that caught hold of Justinian and gave him the impulse and the resources for what he did.

Born in Illyricum and brought to Constantinople by his uncle the

Emperor Justin I (A.D. 518-527), Justinian had been given a very careful education at the expense of his uncle, who himself had had little schooling, and realized the value of what he had missed. The society into which Justinian came, in Constantinople, thought of itself, perfectly naturally, as the classical Graeco-Roman world—the Christian Empire, of course, but still the Graeco-Roman civilization. Homer was still the basic school book. This world instantly caught the imagination of this able and energetic and ambitious young man. It was a wonderful world; he had known nothing like it; but he immediately saw its strength and its possibilities, and he determined to make himself a part of it. This he did, and he had a long and enjoyable life, as the heir, and in his own day, the leader of the Graeco-Roman tradition. He was 36 when his uncle became emperor, and 45 when he himself became sole emperor, and he lived to be 85 years old. The youth from Illyricum became the most antiquarian of the Roman emperors, and in time could justly claim a place among the most learned men of his day. The ancient tradition took such a hold upon him that he made himself the most powerful imperial exponent and defender of the tradition. There was certainly life in a classical heritage that could have this effect.

Everywhere in Justinian's work there is evident his great respect for what he himself, in his laws, describes as "the venerable authority of antiquity," *veneranda vetustatis auctoritas*,³ and as "faultless antiquity," *inculpabilis antiquitas*.⁴ His whole legal program, indeed, the great revision and codification of Roman law by which his name is now chiefly remembered in many quarters, was not merely practical in scope, but represents, in itself, a part of a general program for the recreation of antiquity. A similar effort is plain elsewhere. Justinian himself declared⁵ that it was his mission to recover the lands of the Empire, in Italy, Africa and Spain, which his predecessors had lost through negligence, and a great part of his energy and of the Empire's resources were devoted to this reconquest which forms one of the most prominent—and sharply criticised—episodes of his reign. His whole program was looked upon in his own day as a *renovatio* of the *Imperium Romanum*.⁶

³Nov. 23. 3. p. 188, line 9 ed. Schoell-Kroll (*Corpus iuris civilis* 3).

⁴Nov. 8. *iusiurandum*, p. 89, 36 Schoell-Kroll.

⁵Nov. 30. 11. 2.

⁶Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, 1, lines 185 ff.

The emperor himself became so much interested in literary composition in the classical style, and felt such pride in his own accomplishments as a man of letters, that he wrote many of his own state papers and laws, instead of entrusting this work to the experts in the government bureaus, and he took great pleasure in reading his own documents aloud in public.⁷ One well known measure of the emperor's is typical both of the current conception of the function of the Christian Roman Emperor and of the natural place which the classical tradition occupied in contemporary thought. This is the setting up in the Augustaeum, the principal square in Constantinople on which both the imperial palace and the Church of St. Sophia stood, of the famous equestrian statue of Justinian in the costume of Achilles, which was placed on the top of a tall column. This is described by Procopius in his panegyrical description of Justinian's buildings, and the Loeb Classical Library edition of the *De aedificiis* includes as frontispiece a mediaeval drawing of the statue. The description, abbreviated, reads as follows:⁸

... And on the summit of the column stands a gigantic bronze horse, facing toward the east ... He seems about to advance ... splendidly pressing forward. Upon this horse is mounted a great bronze figure of the Emperor. The figure is habited like Achilles ... He wears half boots and his legs are not covered by greaves. Also he wears a breastplate in the heroic fashion, and a helmet covers his head and gives the impression that it moves up and down, and a dazzling light flashes forth from it ... He looks toward the rising sun, directing his course ... against the Persians. In his left hand he holds a globe ... signifying that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his empire and his victory in war ...

Here we have, of course, the traditional victoriousness which had long been one of the standard attributes of the Roman emperor, in pagan times, and continued to be such in the Christian Empire—*Pietas*, *Victoria*, and so on—combined with the reminiscence of Achilles, the

⁷Procopius, *Anecdota*, 14, 3 ff.

⁸The translation given here is taken from that by H. B. Dewing and G. Downey in the Loeb Classical Library edition of the *De aedificiis*, Book 1, 2, 5-12. For a detailed study of the passage, on which the present discussion is based, see G. Downey, "Justinian as Achilles," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXI (1940), pp. 68-77. References are given there to the bibliography of the subject.

great ancient king and hero, famous for his valor and for being the first champion of Hellenism against the barbarians. To us it may seem a little startling to think of Justinian as a Homeric hero, dressed up in the sixth century idea of the Homeric costume. Justinian was hardly an athletic type. We are told that he was inclined to be plump and was of distinctly sedentary habits. The main thing about the, to us, faintly comical statue is, of course, the political symbolism, and especially the fact that this symbolism was expressed in terms of the Homeric hero—not by comparison with Alexander the Great, or Augustus, or Trajan, but Achilles; and so the symbolism made Justinian a more ancient—and more classical—kind of king than any other Roman ruler. Homer was still the schoolbook.

What has been said thus far is not wholly unfamiliar material. To this we may add two characteristic aspects of the classical background of Justinian's reign which are not yet as well known as they should be.

The first of these concerns the School of Gaza in Palestine. One of the really important intellectual phenomena of these times was the activity of this literary school, as it was called—not really a school, in the sense of an organized academy, but a collection of scholars and teachers, some of them hired by the city of Gaza, others working independently, who had formed a more or less self-perpetuating group in Gaza not unlike the similar groups at Athens and Alexandria in Hellenistic and Roman times.⁹ Gaza had been a flourishing seaport since Old Testament times and had become a typical Greek maritime city in which Hellenism had been planted in the days of Alexander the Great, if not before. The very active trade of the city kept it in contact with the larger centers of the Graeco-Roman world and enabled it to support a serious academic tradition.

Gaza was already a respected center of education in the fourth century after Christ. Early in the fifth century the city became Christian—in the rather spectacular circumstances described in the biography of Bishop Porphyrius by Mark the Deacon—but the classics continued to be the center of the local curriculum since the Christian leaders of the city, themselves brought up in the Hellenic tradition, realized that a classical education was needed for the understanding

⁹On the School of Gaza, see K. Seitz, *Die Schule von Gaza* (Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1892), and W. von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, ed. 6, part II, vol. 2 (Munich, 1924), pp. 1028-1033 (by W. Schmid). The references given here concerning the writers at Gaza who are mentioned may be found in the studies of Seitz and Christ-Schmid.

and teaching of the Greek Scriptures, as well as for dealings with pagans. We begin to hear about the School of Gaza in detail during the reign of the Emperor Zeno (A.D. 474-491), when the grammarian Zosimus wrote commentaries on Lysias and Demosthenes, and the sophist Aeneas composed an imaginary dialogue in which the philosopher Theophrastus was shown being converted to Christianity.

One of the most distinguished figures was Procopius of Gaza (not the same person as the contemporary historian Procopius of Caesarea). After study in Alexandria he took up his career in Gaza, where he taught and, with the other local men of letters, took part in public literary displays which were among the favorite forms of entertainment and intellectual refreshment of the day. Procopius wrote on a variety of subjects, both pagan and Christian. He produced learned Biblical commentaries, doctrinal polemics, a classical panegyric of the Emperor Anastasius (A.D. 491-518), a traditional lament on an earthquake at Antioch, a rhetorical description of a mechanical clock, and an elaborate description in rhythmic prose of pictures of scenes from the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus. A contemporary named Timothy illustrated the characteristic literary and philosophical view of knowledge by writing a treatise on animals in rhythmic prose, in four books, and a work on syntax.

The influence of the School of Gaza extended far beyond the immediate work of the masters and their pupils. The city celebrated frequent holidays and festivals—survivals of pagan festivals, suitably altered—at which the local rhetoricians and poets exhibited their skill to admiring audiences who came from all parts of the Graeco-Roman world. The government considered these festivals so important that it provided subsidies for their upkeep. These occasions were rendered even more agreeable, we are told, by the handsome classical buildings of the city and by its temperate climate at all seasons of the year, as well as by the attractions of the goods offered in the market place.

In contrast to the work done at Constantinople by writers like Procopius of Caesarea, Gaza produced no historical writing, but devoted itself to literature and philosophy. It was very likely because Gaza was not so much in touch with political events that it sustained the classical spirit more successfully than Alexandria and Antioch could at this time. With its colonnaded streets and sunny climate, reminiscent of the early days of Greece, Gaza provided an ideal setting for the classical tradition; and the rhetoricians and their pupils and the visitors were

simply all carrying on their version of the classical Greek city and the Greek city of the imperial period, long after the ancient political forms of such cities had vanished. But all this was by no means artificial; it was simply an ideal setting in which the professors of the day carried on what they thought of as the best kind of education.

The story at Athens, at the same time, is different. Here, in an even more idyllic setting than at Gaza, there were pagan schools, some of them the direct descendants of the classical academies.¹⁰ These had all continued to flourish when Athens had come to be little more than a university town, and we read of the Cappadodian Fathers—or rather the students from Cappadocia who became the Cappadocian Fathers—getting their classical training in Athens at the feet of pagan professors in the fourth century. By reason of their antiquity, these schools carried great prestige; and our modern historians describe, as an almost sensational action, Justinian's closing of the schools of pagan philosophy at Athens in A.D. 529. This is supposed to be a paradox, or a blot on his career, in that he abolished the ancient tradition of academic philosophy in Athens while himself claiming to be an admirer of classical antiquity.¹¹

The best of our historians, unluckily, have given a false picture of what happened. Viewed against the whole background of Justinian's reign, the significance of the episode is quite simple and clear. As has been said, Justinian felt that it was one of his principal missions—and a divinely entrusted one—to stamp out paganism and heresy in his Empire, for he was responsible for the spiritual welfare of the souls of his subjects, and all Christian Emperors had been aware, and had repeatedly stated, that the Empire could not prosper materially unless it were in a state of true grace spiritually. Justinian made a determined effort to achieve religious unity, and as a part of this campaign, he issued, very soon after he became Emperor, edicts which prohibited heretics, pagans and Samaritans from teaching any subject whatever.¹² Not only Christianity, but orthodox Christianity was at stake, and it was Justinian's official responsibility to see to it that his subjects saved their souls. He understood very clearly that proper education was

¹⁰The best study of the pagan schools at Athens is still that of J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece* (New York, 1909).

¹¹For characteristic discussions of the "closing of the schools at Athens," see J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), II, pp. 369-370, and Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 276, 372.

¹²*Cod. Iust.* I. 5. 18. 4; I. 11. 10. 2.

basic to this purpose, and that heretical or pagan teachers (as the Emperor himself observed¹⁹) might corrupt the minds of their students.

This is what was really behind what has been described as the closing of the schools at Athens. We have only one source which alludes directly to the Emperor's action with regard to Athens. This text, a passage in the chronicle of the contemporary writer Ioannes Malalas,²⁰ is not entirely clear, but what it does say is that Justinian forbade the teaching of philosophy at Athens. This has been taken to mean that Justinian forbade the teaching of pagan philosophy as such. However, if we read this statement of Malalas in the light of the imperial edicts of the same period (mentioned above) which forbade pagans to teach any subject, and if we also remember the evidence (from other sources²¹) that the pagan professors of Athens refused to become Christians but went as refugees to the Persian court, the intention of Justinian becomes perfectly clear. It was not the teaching of ancient philosophy as such that was abolished in Athens, for we have ample evidence that pagan philosophy continued to be taught elsewhere in the Empire, for example at Alexandria and Gaza, by Christian scholars. It was teaching by pagans which could find no place in the orthodox Christian state which Justinian hoped to bring into being; and so instead of speaking of the closing or suppression of the schools at Athens, we should speak of the expulsion of the pagan teachers from Athens. Justinian's action, at Athens itself, has been correctly described by some modern writers, but the Emperor's purpose has not been properly understood because the related evidence—notably Justinian's views on the character of Christian education and the testimony for the work going on at Gaza—have not been considered in this connection. The suppression of the pagan teaching at Athens was not a paradox or an inconsistency, as some modern scholars have said (though they plainly have been puzzled at the same time).

Justinian must have regretted the effect which his policy had to have in Athens, and the termination of the activities of the schools must have made quite an impression at the time. Certainly this is something that Justinian would not have done without careful thought and careful preparation; but he had no choice. The synthesis of the revived *Imperium Romanum* and the church could only be achieved

¹⁹*Cod. Iust.* 1. 5. 18. 4.

²⁰*Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), p. 451, lines 16-21.

²¹Cited by Bury and Stein, *loc. cit.*

within a Christian framework by a Christian emperor who was seconded by Christian teachers. The classics could and should be taught, but only by men who understood their relation to Christian truth. In this sense the closing of the pagan faculty at Athens was even overdue. Very possibly the schools were moribund anyway, for there was apparently no effort to keep them going by calling Christian professors to Athens; apparently Alexandria and Gaza could care for the student population of the times. Athens was turning out nothing comparable to the scholarly production of Alexandria and Gaza, and we do not, at this period, hear a man described as a product of Athens, as we hear of distinguished men of letters as having been trained at Alexandria or Gaza.

There is no need to emphasize the belief of Justinian and his contemporaries in the value as an educational system of the classical heritage in philosophy, literature and rhetoric. Experience had shown that this gave the best training for the individual, both for life as a private person and for participation in public life. The classics were studied and imitated, not because men's minds had become sterile—there is plenty of evidence that they were not—but because the classics were regarded as the highest achievements reached by mankind in that sphere. They could not be surpassed; but by the close study of them you could learn something of what it was in the human spirit that had brought these works into being.

But at the same time—and this is what it was that gave Justinian and his peers their real vision and their real strength—the Christian student of the classics, in Justinian's time, had come to be able to understand the living and permanent value of what the classical thinkers and writers had achieved in their search for the nature of reality and their effort to define man's place in relation to the Eternal Good. Working with the knowledge and the resources and the insights then available, the human mind—the Greek mind—could go far, as we all know, but even Plato had to stop at a certain point. The Christian understanding of the truth, or more properly reality—in sum, the Christian knowledge of what was real and eternal, also enabled the scholars and students of Justinian's day to appreciate what the Greeks had been able to work out by themselves; for when the really very impressive achievement of the Greeks was viewed in the light of Christian knowledge, it was plain that the Greek views agreed with the Christian, up to a certain point beyond which the Greeks were

unable to go; and this agreement served to confirm the truth and the universal validity of Greek thought, and to reinforce the valuation which all previous experience had placed upon the classical tradition as an educational system. Justinian was trying to find the proper means for expressing and handing on his conception of the process of history (including human intellectual development) as it had resulted in the formation of the Christian Roman Empire of which he was the responsible head. He could, he thought, give this Empire a power and a splendor which it deserved, but had not, under his predecessors, enjoyed. Through education, it was possible to make real the contribution of the past, as this past was recorded, in part, in Greek classical literature and philosophy. Obviously this past, as the foundation and preparation for the Christian present, could be taught properly only by Christians who understood what was really involved. Justinian realized the need of his people to understand the whole of their bond with the past, and their part in a great tradition, which to Justinian was not only Christian but also Hellenic. It was realized fully that Christianity had the power to absorb and transform, for its own goals, the best achievements of the culture around it. And so here we can see why the School of Gaza flourished and why the School of Athens no longer had a valid reason for existence. And finally, we can see one link in the chain of tradition which has made us the heirs of the work of the Byzantine Empire and the learned Orthodox Church, through which our classical heritage has been preserved.

THE PRAYER OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM: A LITURGICAL NOTE

By BRIAN TAYLOR

Spalding Grammar School, Lincolnshire

Ho tas koinas tautas kai, sumphōnous hēmin charisamenos proseuchas, ho kai duo kai trisi sumphōnousin epi tō onomati sou, tas aitēseis parechein epaggeilamenos, autos, kai nun tōn doulōn sou ta aitēmata pros to sumpheron plērōson. chōrēgōn hēmin en tō paronti aiōni tēn epignōsin tēs sēs alētheias, kai en tō mellonti zōen aiōnion charizomenos.¹

¹The text of the prayer as given in the Greek and Latin edition of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom. (Venice, 1958.)

The Prayer of Saint Chrysostom, familiar to all church-goers from its use at Morning and Evening Prayer, is one of the very few prayers which Cranmer took from an eastern source. It is the prayer of the third antiphon at the beginning of the Orthodox Liturgy, and is said by the priest while the choir sings the antiphon after the litanies, and before the Little Entrance (of the Gospel book). The prayer probably gained the name by which it is known to Anglicans from Cranmer's taking it from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. In fact, the earliest appearance of the prayer is in the same place in the Liturgy of St. Basil. It is likely that the introductory section of both liturgies, in which the prayer occurs, is a later addition; but in any case its authorship will almost certainly remain a mystery.³

It has been suggested that Cranmer discovered the prayer when drawing material from the eastern eucharistic litany for the litany of 1544.³ The Prayer Book version lacks its ending, presumably because of "a misunderstanding of the Greek text, where the common conclusion of the prayer and the accompanying litany is, as usual, printed at the end of the latter." The doxology is: "For thou art a good God, and loving mankind, and to thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, we send up the glory, now and ever and world without end."⁴

Cranmer's translation presents some problems, which have not been entirely solved.

Almighty⁵ God, which hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee, and dost promise, that when two or three be⁶ gathered⁷ in thy name, thou wilt grant their requests; fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them, granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come, life everlasting. Amen.

It has been observed that Cranmer has mistranslated *sumphōnousin*. *Sumphōneō* does not mean "I come together" but "I am in harmony" or "in agreement." Bishop Dowden has suggested how this came

³W. Palmer, *Origines Liturgicae* (Oxford, 1832). pp. 249 f.

³Proctor and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* ¹(London, 1901), p. 420.

⁴F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite*, ²(London 1921), p. lxxviii.

⁵Here and in the quotations the spelling is modernized. "Who" from 1662.

⁶"Are" from 1662.

⁷"Together" inserted in 1559.

about.⁸ He thinks that Cranmer used, as well as Erasmus's Latin edition of St. John Chrysostom's Liturgy, (Basil, 1539) of which he had a copy, the Venice edition of 1528, which has a Latin translation beside the Greek. In this translation, the Latin of this clause of the prayer reads: "et qui duobus aut tribus convenientibus in nomine tuo petitiones tribuere pollicitus es." "Convenio" has both meanings: "I am in agreement," and "I come together." This takes us a fair way in a search for an explanation, and Dowden refers to Coverdale's translation of Matt. 18:20, as additional influence on Cranmer.

There is still much to be explained, however, before the matter is plain. A glance at the Greek of Matt. 18:20, and, what is equally important, of v. 18, will be of great assistance.⁹ It will be seen that the language of the prayer is quite different from that of v. 20, except for the reference to "two or three." The verb *sumphōneō* does not occur in v. 20; but it does occur in v. 19. It is not quite satisfying to say with F. E. Brightman, "Notice that Cranmer has misunderstood *convenientibus* and so has imported a misquotation of Mt. 18:19 into his version."¹⁰ Surely the author of the prayer was recalling not v. 20, but the promise in v. 19, using language slightly reminiscent of v. 20, which is legitimate. Cranmer, presumably by an error, reversed the process: he transferred the promise of v. 19 to v. 20, which is not legitimate. In fact, when we recite his version of the prayer, we recall a promise which, according to Matthew, Christ never made. To those gathered in Christ's name, his presence is assured, not the granting of their requests—that is promised to those who are in agreement.

In the first Prayer Book, of 1549, and in the ordinal of that year, the prayer concludes the litany, as in 1544. It has retained this position ever since, though since 1662 it has not appeared in the ordinal. The familiar "grace" following the prayer appeared in the Prayer Book in 1559, but it was first used here in the litany as issued earlier in that year.¹¹ It was not used in the ordination service.

The use of the prayer at matins and evensong was first authorised

⁸*The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, (London, 1899), pp. 128f. 227-9.

⁹Matt. 18:19: *palin legō hūmīn, hoti ean duo hūmōn sumphōnēsōsin epī tēs gēs perī pantos pragmatōs hou ean aitēsōntai, genēsetai autois para tou patros mou tou en ouranois. v.20. hou gar eisi duo ē treis sunēgmenoi eis to emon onoma, ekei eimi en mesō autōn.*

¹⁰*op. cit.*, p. lxxviii.

¹¹*The Letanye used in the Queenes Maiesties Chappel, according to the tenor of the Proclamation. Anno Christi 1559. Fid. W. K. Clay (ed.), Liturgical Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Soc. (Cambridge, 1847), pp. xi f. 9 ff.

in the Scots Prayer Book of 1637. It was not printed with the offices, but a rubric at the end of morning prayer directs that "if the Litany be not appointed to be said or sung that morning, then shall next be said the prayer for the King's Majesty, with the rest of the prayers following at the end of the Litany, and the Benediction." A similar rubric provides for evensong. It was not until 1662 that the prayer and grace were appointed to be used to conclude the offices in England, though Wheatly writes: "I suppose, though not printed, they were always used, as now, at the conclusion of the daily service."¹²

So long as the litany is used before the Communion office, the prayer is still in a position similar to that in the Orthodox Liturgy. It is ironical, therefore, that in the American revision of 1928, both prayer and grace were removed from the litany "to make the use of the Litany more adaptable to varying times and occasions and to ready combination with other services, especially as a preface to the Holy Communion."¹³

May we conclude this note with two practical suggestions to future revisers of the Book of Common Prayer? Firstly, let us correct Cranmer's blunder, and have a biblical translation of the Greek text. Secondly, may not the prayer be restored to its rightful place at the beginning of the Eucharist? It is singularly appropriate. The word used for "knowledge" is the strengthened form *epignōsis*, "full knowledge."¹⁴ Is it entirely fanciful to suggest that the ancient author used this word bearing in mind its biblical usage? Bultmann tells us that in the New Testament, *epignōsis* is "almost a technical term for the decisive knowledge of God which is involved in conversion to the Christian faith,"¹⁵ a fit subject for petition as we approach the Holy Mysteries.

¹²*Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, (London, 1845), p. 160. He then refers to the Scots rubric.

¹³M. H. Shepherd, *The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary*, (New York, 1950), pp. 58-on. But see also C. C. Roach, *For All Sorts and Conditions* (Greenwich, 1955), pp. 166 f., where the prayer and grace are regarded as the "prelude to the Holy Communion."

¹⁴R. Young, *Analytical Concordance*.

¹⁵*Gnosis*, E. T., (London, 1952), p. 37. Cf. I Cor. 13:12 (Greek).

CLASSICAL CULTURE AND THE WHOLENESS OF THE FAITH*

By F. TEMPLE KINGSTON

Anglican Theological College, Vancouver

The problem of the relationship of Christian theology to Greek and Roman social philosophical and religious thought has produced a wide diversity of opinion. For some, the strength of Christianity lies in its accumulation of the best of classical culture while others have expressed the view that Christianity is merely a Jewish sect. A strong group of Christians firmly believe that Christian truth is totally irrelevant to classical or any other culture while others insist that Christianity as we know it to-day would only have been possible through the influence of Greek and Roman traditions on early Christians.

One might present the problem in more imaginative terms by asking just what was in the mind of St. Paul when he came to Athens and discussed with the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers or when he proclaimed upon the Areopagus his knowledge of the unknown God (Acts 17). Again what was in the mind of the man who had said "our citizenship is in heaven" (Phil. 3:20), when he appealed to Festus on the basis of his Roman citizenship (Acts 25:11).

Before dealing with the problem directly, it will be of value to discuss something of the classical background of Christian theology.

Of recent years, it has been common to regard the tensions in classical thought as a dualism between Dionysian and Apollonian elements or between irrational and rational factors. However, this would seem to be an oversimplification resulting from a desire to read the dualism of modern thought inherited from Cartesian philosophy back into classical thought. Because of this, there has been a tendency to overlook the great profundity in classical thought which has been missing in much of modern thought.

The fault has been to tie all the irrational factors in classical thought into one bundle, whereas in fact the irrational factors were seen by the

*This article is based on a paper originally delivered to the Classics Club of the University of British Columbia on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1957.

ancients as falling into two distinct categories—empirical and religious. Thus classical thought should be seen as a tension between not two factors but three—the empirical, the rational and the spiritual. Man is seen not only in terms of body and mind but in terms of body, mind and spirit. A further parallel is the three kinds of knowledge classified in Aristotle's thought—theoretical, practical and productive.

It is important to note that all of these elements are regarded as being immanent in nature and in man. H. and H. A. Frankfort¹ contrast this sense of immanence which the Greeks inherited from Mesopotamia and Egypt, with the transcendent God of the Hebrews. The three varieties of men found at the Olympic games by the Pythagoreans or the three classes of citizens in Plato's ideal state reflect not only three qualities inherent in each man but also in all of nature. Thus man is not only a microcosm of the state but of the reality of nature too.

However as C. N. Cochrane points out in his *Christianity and Classical Culture* the great difficulty for both the Greeks and the Romans was to find a point of integration for the three factors of reality. The solution offered always tended to exalt one factor and make the other two subservient to it and the result was a failure to achieve any real integration of man or of nature.

There is a tendency by some modern scholars to underestimate the importance of religion in the classical way of life. But one cannot but be impressed by the fact that almost all of the present ruins of buildings which survive from ancient days are religious temples. Furthermore it is evident that these buildings were situated in the most prominent part of the ancient community. The quality of the buildings, some of the most beautiful ever built by man, is evidence of the fact that their creation must have been a supreme effort requiring skill, money and labour of the whole community. The temples on the Acropolis in Athens are an obvious example. W. K. C. Guthrie in the opening lines of the Preface to his book *The Greeks and Their Gods* (p.vii) in referring to Greek culture, says the main purpose of his book is to be useful to those who "have made the inevitable discovery that almost every branch of it—epic, tragedy, comedy, philosophy, history and even the life of the political arena and the law courts as revealed by the orators—is permeated by religion."

¹H. Frankfort and others, *Before Philosophy*, Pelican Book ed., p. 237 f.

Gilbert Murray, in his *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, and others have shown that the earliest attempt at an integration was done through mythologies produced by Greek religion and it is important to emphasize what this religious outlook involved. There was no idea of a transcendent God but the gods of the Greeks were a means of portraying the mysterious forces inherent in nature which seemed to fatally determine man's destiny. Corresponding to this fatal aspect in nature itself was the recognition of a mystery in each human being. It is wrong to equate this mysterious element in man with mere emotion. Heraclitus tried to portray this by the basic element of fire but perhaps it is in the plays of Sophocles that one best sees this mystery which exists at the heart of every human. It is not only in religious rites but in the aesthetic interests of the Greeks that the importance of the spiritual is seen; in poetry, in drama, in architecture, in art and in sculpture. Though men developed these activities to a remarkable degree, one of the most remarkable things about Greek art is the sense of balance and perspective. The earliest religious views of the Greeks were that man must keep his sense of balance and not tempt the fates or the gods. The two spheres were regarded as being essentially different.

The miraculous development of philosophy by the Greeks comes with the recognition that all of man's destiny is not controlled by fate but that man also has a mind, as well as a spirit, and by this mind man can gain a certain understanding and control over his destiny. Added to this was the empirical interest of the Greeks which kept them more or less to a realistic point of view.

It is interesting to see how all three factors combine in the first philosopher Thales. The basic element is the common everyday empirical substance—water. Yet this water is presented as a principle of intelligibility by which all things could be understood. At the same time, Thales recognized full well that many mysteries remain and of course he is quoted as saying that "all things are full of gods." His basic substance water is the symbol of the god Oceanus.

As philosophy developed, the Greeks became more aware of the power of the mind and at the same time they also realized the inadequacy of the old gods to present the mysteries of the universe. Philosophy becomes an attack on religion and a consequent claim by man to gain power over his destiny. The philosophy of Parmenides is a symbol of the new desire of the mind to grasp all things and the

temple on the hill becomes the symbol for man of what he can become when his mind attains to the greater mysteries of the universe. Man by philosophy seeks affinity with the gods.

However as man's understanding of the universe grew with the development of philosophy, at the same time he became aware of the far greater profundity in the spiritual aspects of nature. Many like Gilbert Murray and W. K. C. Guthrie point out the evolution in the religious outlook of the Greeks. From a primitive reverence for the mystery of growth and fertility in nature, the Greeks came to present the great Zeus—chief of all the gods. From the older idea that man must not tempt the fates there develop the rites for salvation—the Dionysian imparting salvation through ecstasy and the Apollonian tradition imparting salvation through wisdom. The Socratic dictum "know thyself" originates with the Delphic oracle of the Apollonian tradition.

The culmination of the attempt of the Greeks to integrate all nature by an appeal to intelligibility comes in the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. Some of course have tried to maintain that Plato's good is called God or that Aristotle's Pure Form is called God but this results as an attempt to read Christian revelation back into Greek philosophy. E. Gilson in the first chapter of his *God and Philosophy* shows that Good and God, or Pure Form and God as such are not identified. Of course, the intention is that Good or Pure Form will provide the key to the solution of all problems. All reality will be in the grasp of man's understanding and the mysteries of nature will be done away. Even though this may be the intention, there is certainly an element of the mystic in Plato. In his *Apology* he puts into Socrates' mouth a denial of atheism and a statement that the demons have inspired him. I am indebted to Mr. M. B. Foster for pointing out in a lecture at Christ Church, Oxford that in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (Book X, Chapters 7-8), a strong sense of awe and mystery remains in the contemplation of the divine beings and Gilson notes in his *God and Philosophy* that Aristotle's Pure Form, though divine, is only one divinity among many. Thus even in the greatest philosophical systems of the ancient world it has been impossible to achieve a real integration of reality by an appeal to the primacy of the intelligible. Looking ahead to some of the early Christian apologists, it is interesting to note the experiences of Justin Martyr or of Augustine who sincerely tried out these ancient philosophies and

found that they offered no real solution to an understanding of the nature of reality.

So far little has been said about the empirical element in Greek thought though I have stressed the importance of distinguishing it from the spiritual. Of course, the empirical element comes to the fore in making an absolute claim through the Sophists and the later Skeptics though it was always present to a greater or less degree. The Greeks always enjoyed a measure of realism which served as a check on the absolute claims of either religion or philosophy to dominate man's view of nature and of himself. St. Thomas Aquinas saw in Aristotle's philosophy a much better instrument for interpreting Christianity than Plato's philosophy because Aristotle had been concerned, in contrast to Plato, to preserve the reality of the concrete object of sense experience. Yet even in Aristotle, as in Plato, the ultimate appeal is not to the world of ordinary experience but to the world of ideas or to the world that might be.

The greatest interest of the Greeks was in man himself and this is manifest in the early poetry, in the stories of the gods, in Greek sculpture, and in Greek drama, in Greek history and Greek philosophy. Socrates of course perhaps more than any other is a symbol of the interest of the Greeks in man. Yet at the same time Socrates following the Sophists introduces an element of disintegration into what the Greeks regarded as a unified way of life. Originally the Greeks living in more isolated city-states formed their own customs and own religious observances. The laws and the gods were regarded as self-evident and applicable to the whole community. However, as the Greeks developed and came in touch with other cities, they began to become critical of their own state. Conservative elements wished to preserve all at any cost and radical elements sought to overthrow all as useless. The significance of Socrates is his search for a balance between the laws and religious beliefs of the community and the ultimate truths of life as they are personally realized in the human individual. Plato's *Republic* may be regarded as a final effort of the Greeks to preserve the ultimate value of the old city-state as standing beyond the human individual. Perhaps we may say that Socrates' realism was stronger than Plato's idealism; for Plato's attempt to reconstruct the old city-state was a glorious failure.

With Caesar Augustus there was an attempt to construct the empire on lines parallel to that of the old Greek city-state. C. N. Cochrane

begins his *Christianity and Classical Culture* by setting forth the ambition of Augustus with regard to the Republic and an appreciation of his efforts. "His work marks a herculean effort to solve the problems of his age in terms consistent with the thought and aspiration of classical antiquity."² Since Rome had conquered most of the ancient world by force, his problem was to give some rational justification for Roman control. The whole plan was an artificial reconstruction which because it was artificial was doomed from the start. The empirical, subjective, personal element was a constant threat of attack. Augustus himself could command respect but as soon as an emperor could not command respect the whole system was liable to collapse. In the outlying areas of the empire, men could see that the barbarians outside were free from the authority of the empire and yet had much to commend them.

A great variety of reasons have been given for the decline of the Roman empire and, as Cochrane suggests, all of them have some truth in them. But the ultimate reason was the failure of the Greeks and Romans to find an adequate sense of reality and a true balance between empirical, intelligible and spiritual factors in nature and in man. "The débâcle, however, was not merely economic or social, or political, or rather it was all of these because it was something more. For what here confronts us is, in the last analysis, a moral and intellectual failure of the Graeco-Roman mind."³

The frustration of Roman society in striving desperately to solve problems and yet in not seeing the real problem to solve, may be clearly seen in the case of religion. It was a stroke of genius to declare the Emperor a divinity because if as Gilson says in his *God and Philosophy* (p.11) that a god for the ancients was a living being whom a man "knows as lording it over his own life," then in the emperor was embodied the great power of the army and administration. With such great power behind him, the emperor was the chief of the gods. Yet because of this association, any sign of weakness in the army or the administration was a sign of the inadequacy of the emperor. The empirical or real situation as in the days of the Greek sophists served as a basis of attack on both the rational construction and the religious system. Also the empire was so vast and difficult to administer that

²*op. cit.*, p. 3.

³*ibid.*, p. 157.

often fate intervened to either help or hinder. As a result the emperor could in no wise be regarded as the only god but the number of gods grew and grew as fate seemed to take a stronger hand. It was accepted as the general rule that men would recognize any gods they chose and because the Christians refused to recognize any pagan deities they were frequently regarded as atheists.

As St. Paul was concerned to make a sharp distinction between the Jewish religion and Christianity; so were the Christians in the early centuries concerned to preserve the distinctness of the gospel from any rational or religious system of the ancients. Whereas the ancient philosophies and religions had sought to avoid the empirical situation by reconstruction or by escape, the primary appeal in the proclamation of the Church was empirical and existential. The gospel confronted a man in his actual situation and appealed to him to face his situation. It concerned a person whom men had seen. Because of the distinct nature of the proclamation, it had a great appeal to ordinary men and women which the ancient philosophies and religions did not have. This transcendent God of Hebrew tradition revealed to men by Jesus Christ had provided the authority to give full meaning to life as nothing immanent in nature itself or in man himself could do. The significant point concerning God for the early Christians was his transcendence to nature and to human affairs.

Perhaps it is Tertullian more than any other of the early Fathers of the Church who stresses this exclusiveness. He makes a bitter attack on all pagan philosophies and religions and strongly asserts that a Christian will have nothing to do with either of them. Tertullian's *Apology* is written as an appeal to the rulers of the Roman Empire to desist from the persecutions of Christians. After refuting the false rumours that have been spread about Christians, he goes on to show them the falsity of the pagan gods who are in reality created by men. He points out that belief in Jesus is much more meaningful but then concludes that really the divine and the human have nothing in common. "As the divine and human are ever opposed to each other, when we are condemned by you, we are acquitted by the Highest." Such a statement always has a certain element of truth in it in the context of Christian theology but as it stands, it is certainly extreme and could easily be taken by the ancients as the proclamation of one of the many religious sects of the day which desired to return to the most primitive sort of beliefs of the Greeks. It would seem to be an attack on the

emperor and on all that classical culture had achieved and a desire to return to a world where all is controlled by fate.

Tertullian tries to show that all the heresies of the time are due to the influence of Greek philosophy and he uses St. Paul's epistle to the Colossians as support for his view. He writes in his *On Prescription Against Heretics* (Chap. 7) "He [St. Paul] had been at Athens, and had in his interviews [with its philosophers] become acquainted with that human wisdom which pretends to know the truth, while it only corrupts it, and is itself divided into its own mutually repugnant sects. What indeed has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the Academy and the Church? What between heretics and Christians?"

By this repudiation of philosophy it was natural for some in the ancient world to regard the Christian faith as that of a mere barbarian sect and in a way there is a definite sectarian spirit in Tertullian. One may account for the sectarian spirit in much Protestant theology in an attempt to follow through a point of view akin to that of Tertullian.

In relation to Tertullian's writings, the point of view of the Emperor Julian is an interesting counterpart. Julian was one who had tremendous respect for the best in classical culture. He had studied the culture of Greece and felt that this was an integral part of the best traditions of the empire. Christianity derived from a despised country of Palestine and for that reason, it could be nothing but a barbarian sect. He refused to allow Christians to teach in universities, not primarily because of their lack of knowledge but because of what he felt was the fundamental perversity of their beliefs which could not but influence their teaching.

Julian tried to exalt Greece and Rome and to show that the Jews were not chosen people but really despised people. The Christians as a Jewish sect are even worse because they reject the best of Judaism—the law of Moses—and follow the innovations of the prophets. The divinity of Christ can only be a foolish fable. Jesus of Nazareth "is nothing but an illiterate peasant whose teachings, while devoid of truth and beauty, are at the same time weak, impractical and socially subversive" (quoted from Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Yet Christianity survived and the pagan religions and philosophies declined.

Many answers have been given to explain this. Gilbert Murray notes that Harnack suggests that the whole matter was decided by an increase or decrease in the birth-rate. Murray himself suggests it

was a matter of organization. "The character of Christianity in the early centuries is to be sought not so much in the doctrines which it professed, nearly all of which had their roots and their close parallels in older Hellenistic or Hebrew thought, but in the organization on which it rested" (*op. cit.*, p. 194).

However the organization of the Church is only significant in terms of the faith of the Church and it is one of the purposes of this paper to point out that the strength of Christianity rests precisely on a matter of doctrine which was decided just a few years before the emperorship of Julian. The significant point for all of future Christianity and a point which as T. S. Eliot says binds all Christians through all time closer than any Christian and any pagan was the decision of Nicaea championed by St. Athanasius.

The issue for Athanasius was quite clear. Particularly since the Emperor Constantine had issued his Edict of Toleration, the Church could not remain a mere other-worldly sect as Tertullian had presented it, though he saw the supreme importance of emphasizing the transcendence of God. On the other hand, he saw that the Gospel could not be identified with the pagan religions or philosophies, though the immanence of God must also be emphasized. Athanasius saw more clearly than anyone that the Christ of the Arians being less than God would have been reduced to something in nature and would have been identified absolutely with classical culture. What would have triumphed in Arianism was not Christ but Neo-Platonism. Cochrane (p. 234) records that after Nicaea, Constantine issued an edict ordering that Arians be called Porphyriani—that is followers of Porphyry—one of the great Neo-Platonists of the ancient world. Athanasius in his *Treatises Against Arianism* is concerned to refute all the false uses of Biblical texts by the Arians, including the famous Prov. 8:22. This text was symbolic of the whole struggle. Was wisdom to be identified solely as an intelligible order inherent in nature or was wisdom centered in God revealed by the Logos, Jesus Christ, who was transcendent to all creation? The answer found in the experience of many early Christians was that this revealed truth contained more wisdom than all the writings of the great philosophers.

The phrase "Athanasius against the world" is frequently used but in many ways this would apply better to Tertullian than to Athanasius. Perhaps a better though more complicated phrase would be "Athanasius for the world against those of the world who thought they were

for it but were really against it." In his *On the Incarnation of the Word of God*, Athanasius shows how Christ, the Son of God transcendent, is the agent in both creation and redemption. The real integration of the spiritual, the intelligible and the empirical for which the ancients had longed is now possible and only possible through Jesus Christ. Because the ancients had used something immanent in nature by which to integrate nature, real integration was impossible. E. L. Mascall notes this in his *Existence and Analogy* (p. 2): "For the Greeks, the task of reconciling the religious with the philosophical attitude to the world was extremely difficult, if not impossible; and the assumption that if there is a God he must provide not only an object for religion but also a first principle for philosophy is, however little many modern philosophers may have realized it, a direct effect of Christianity."

It is true that the doctrines of the Trinity and of the divinity of Christ are mysteries and because of this they are spiritual truths which call for the devotion of man. However, as Mr. M. B. Foster has said on several occasions, to say that something is a mystery is not to say necessarily that it is devoid of meaning and intelligibility. Cochrane in *Christianity and Classical Culture* is critical of John Henry Newman's work on St. Athanasius because he suggests that Christianity is a cult of unintelligibility. Cochrane points out (p. 236) that Athanasius realized that his listeners could not loose themselves from classical ways of thought. He did not want to confuse them but to give them a wider vision of intelligibility where he himself had found it, namely in the Logos which must have been at work in the development of Classical culture.

By recognizing the greatness of Classical culture, Athanasius realized how much greater was the act of creation and redemption through Jesus Christ. It was precisely this recognition which helped him to see the wholeness of the faith which involves everything that is—body, soul and spirit in man and empirical, rational and spiritual factors in all of nature. Because God is one, all of life is integrated and unified. Only in the Word made flesh can the dreams of classical culture be fulfilled and yet only by accepting classical culture could Athanasius see how Christ had fulfilled the greatest dreams of the ancients.

The weakness of classical culture is symbolic of the fall of mankind. It is not all bad, but it is out of focus, centering on false ideals, or at least inadequate ones. The only absolute is found through the Logos

and without it, man is without the principle of understanding, the principle of life and above all, he is without the grace to become what he might be. Here is salvation not only for the superman but for all men, Jew or Greek, bond or free, male or female.

In conclusion, we may ask if Christians as a whole have realized the full implications of the Catholicity of St. Athanasius. In many ways, it may be said that his thought presents a challenge to Christians through the ages. It certainly presented a challenge to St. Augustine and many years later to St. Thomas Aquinas. In our age, when sects and cults arise and when many Christians tend to shy away from modern developments and discoveries, St. Athanasius challenges us not to be small-minded but to have the vision to see the wholeness of the faith and to go forth to meet the world with perseverance and also with joy.

JOHN COLET'S STATURE AS AN EXEGETE

By DONALD J. PARSONS

Nashotah House

Among the great figures of Anglican history, an object of recurrent interest is John Colet, a pioneer in the Renaissance in England, the associate of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, Dean of St. Paul's, and an advocate of reform within the Church. Of greatest concern to the Biblical student is his lecturing on St. Paul's epistles at Oxford (1496-1497) in the days when theological study concentrated far more on Duns Scotus than on Scripture. It is felt that it would be interesting to compare the commentaries of this Pre-Reformation Anglican with the products of modern New Testament scholarship. Just how good was he as an exegete? Lest the reader be held in unnecessary, and most probably ineffective, suspense, it must be stated at the outset that the comparison is a little humbling to the advocate of present-day interpretation. Colet's work stands up remarkably well, particularly when due allowance is made for his pioneer status. Of primary importance, of course, is his stressing of the literal meaning of Scripture. In practice he occasionally indulges in typological, and even at times in

allegorical, interpretation. This is never excessive, however, nor is it allowed to distort the picture. New Testament study would owe him much even if this had been his only contribution. However, Colet has much more to offer than just this.

As an instance of his excellence, one may note his treatment of the idea of God's wrath. He states, "God indeed is not wroth; but feeble man speaks of God in the human fashion . . . and ascribes to God human emotions."¹ In commenting on Rom. 1:24 ff. he says, "In leaving God, they are themselves left to their own lusts . . .,"² and adds, "This was the wrath of God."³ How much theological wrangling and wandering would have been saved if all later commentators had been possessed of the same sanity of interpretation. One may likewise applaud the intellectual humility which leads Colet to admit that he does not have the last word on everything. In treating Rom. 1:17 he says, "What the Apostle means by adding the words *to faith*, I candidly own that I do not know." Admiration will be felt also at his warning against treating any one Pauline statement apart from other passages on the same topic. "But all St. Paul's sayings must be cautiously examined, before any opinion touching his meaning be given."⁴ Four hundred and sixty years of subsequent Pauline study simply underline the wisdom of that remark. A specific instance of the need for this caution, and of Colet's adherence to his own advice, is the famous predestination passage of Rom. 9-11. During a judicious treatment of the section he remarks, "But we are now wandering away from St. Paul, and in disputing about the foreknowledge of God are saying more than it seems that he would have us do."⁵

In an age when sacerdotalism was a mighty force, his emphasis upon the diversity of the Spirit's gifts to all members of the Church is a welcome and moving thing. "According to His various influences, so does the Spirit dispose and adapt the several members, even men, His

¹For purposes of convenience, J. H. Lupton's translations are used for all quotations and references. "Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans," in *Letters to Radulphus*, etc. by John Colet trans., J. H. Lupton (London: Bell, 1876), p. 64. Hereinafter cited as *Exp. Lit. Rom.*

²*ibid.*, p. 66.

³*ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴*ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵"Lectures on Romans," in *An Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* trans., J. H. Lupton (London: Bell and Daldy, 1873), p. 14. Hereinafter cited as *Enarratio*.

⁶*Enarratio*, pp. 36 f.

instruments, in fitting proportion and harmonious order . . . that all may entertain an equal respect for all, and acknowledge one another's equality."⁷ Great stress is laid on unity and harmony within the Church, that each may use to the fullest the grace he has been given by God, to the benefit of all. "For there is nothing that can truly say, *I have no need*: nothing but what may be, and ought to be, helped by others; and this, not merely inferiors by superiors, but perchance even yet more, superiors by inferiors."⁸ This gem deserves recitation at many a synod and diocesan meeting.

Lest an evaluating comparison be thought to have lapsed into a panegyric, there are naturally areas in which improvement can rightly be desired. Firm recognition of the thorough-going effects of sin leads him to positions which today would be regarded as extreme. He believes that "disobedience and sin so weakened the first offspring of Nature, that they in turn could beget nothing but what was tainted and blemished . . ."⁹ From this he concludes, "But as for the Civil Laws of the old, corrupt man, they have nothing to do with the healthy state of Christians. Human reason is the enemy and opponent of grace."¹⁰ All this affects his interpretation of Paul's teaching on obedience to the State, in Rom. 13. While admitting that the non-Christian state exists only by God's will ("for what end he alone knows"), and should not be resisted,¹¹ he regards the Pauline teaching as a means of instructing the Roman magistrates and gaining their favor towards Christians.¹² However, in so doing he apparently fails to see that the Apostle does regard the state as an institution of positive value. It might with justice be argued that Colet is being more logical than St. Paul in all this. Yet the besetting danger to commentators in all centuries has been just this desire for finding a too-sudden logic in Paul's opinions. His thoughts are so complex and so many-sided, his presentation is so often devoted to dealing with that one aspect of a problem which the occasion demands, that great caution is needed to gather all the fragments before a consistent summary is attempted.

⁷*In Exposition of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians*: John Colet, trans., J. H. Luntton (London: Bell, 1874), pp. 134 f.

⁸*Enarratio*, p. 74.

⁹*Exp. Lit. Rom.*, p. 135.

¹⁰*ibid.*, p. 139.

¹¹*Enarratio*, p. 92.

¹²*ibid.*, p. 97.

Any pre-Reformation exegete will be examined closely as to his views on justification and faith. Colet is not always given full justice in this.¹³ It is true that he treats justification as a "being made righteous" and does not precisely distinguish it as the initial act in the process of salvation.¹⁴ Some confusion comes from his becoming involved in the parts played by faith, hope and charity. In so doing he ascribes to hope values most commentators connect with faith.¹⁵ These faults exist, but fairness forbids judging a pre-Reformation writer by later standards. The Lutheran controversy forced exegetes to make more precise distinctions and definitions. We may rightly wish Colet had done so, but perspective will temper the tendency to condemn. On the more positive side, there are valuable aspects of his presentation. First, the raw materials for a good doctrine of justification are present in such statements as:

The purpose of the Incarnation was "... that he might turn men from their proud trust in themselves to a humble faith in God. . ."

"This trust in God is humility; as on the other hand trust in one's own self is pride."

"This hope is the beginning of man's journey towards God. . . ."¹⁶ Second, there is a sturdy (and biblical) insistence that the initial act of justification cannot remain sterile:

"True faith, accordingly, and knowledge of Jesus Christ, cannot by any means exist, unless accompanied by well doing; for this is a kind of advance in the journey begun by faith, and by it we at last reach our destination."

"Charity is the flower of faith, as good works are the fruit of charity."¹⁷

After making the necessary distinctions which Colet neglected, there is value in his saying:

"He says well (Rom. 10:8-10) *unto righteousness and unto sal-*

¹³See for example, Ernest William Hunt, *Dean Colet and His Theology* (London: SPCK, 1956).

¹⁴*Exp. Lit. Rom.*, pp. 91, 108.

¹⁵*Enarratio* pp. 68 cf. *Exp. Lit. Rom.*, p. 137.

¹⁶*Enarratio*, pp. 64, 66, 68.

¹⁷*First Cor.*, pp. 57, 136.

vation; to show that this is the goal of faith, and that a beginning is necessary from which to go on to righteousness and salvation."¹⁸

"We, says St. Paul, believe that a man is clearly justified and made righteous through true faith in Jesus, if only he be near Him by faith, and be made like Christ."¹⁹

Finally, any idea of man's merits would seem adequately excluded by these remarks:

"... except by grace, none can now truly say that he is saved."²⁰

"He who created them out of nothing, will new-create their ruins; though not for any merits of their own. The mere will and goodness of God, which was the cause of the first creation, will be the sole and only cause of the new creation."²¹

Grace is . . . "the efficient cause, author, and preserver of all the good that either is or can be among men."²²

Every expositor of Scripture must struggle constantly against the tendency to let his own views affect his interpretation. This conflict can be observed in the presentation of St. Paul's view of the body. Colet's own feelings are revealed in incidental statements, when, for example, he speaks of man's mind "being depressed into this heavy and gloomy body,"²³ and when he says that one of the effects of grace is to lead men not to "dread the sinful body, the cause of sin."²⁴ His natural tendency, aided perhaps by his attraction to Plato, Plotinus, and Pseudo-Dionysius, is somewhat "dualistic." Yet exegetical honesty triumphs enough to demonstrate clearly that St. Paul regards man as a unity. Colet writes, "By *flesh*, St. Paul almost always means the whole human nature,"²⁵ and again, "For in what direction one part of man is borne, whether body or soul, thither is the whole man instantly drawn; so that he must needs tend wholly upwards or downwards."²⁶ There

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 55-f.

¹⁹*Exp. Lit. Rom.*, p. 108.

²⁰*Enarratio*, p. 49.

²¹*First Cor.*, p. 151.

²²*Enarratio*, p. 132.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 41.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁵*First Cor.*, p. 118.

²⁶*Enarratio*, p. 60.

have been more accurate treatments of Pauline "anthropology," but on the whole Colet has succeeded in keeping his own views from distorting the picture too much. His weakness is a relative lack of attention to passages which present a more positive view of the body as capable of being redeemed and transformed by Christ.

Colet's objectivity is perhaps most seriously questioned by the modern reader in his presentation of the Apostle's teaching on marriage and celibacy. Resentment arises when marriage is described as "the next best thing to virginity"²⁷ and when we are warned, "Let every one be on his guard against supposing, that St Paul allows marriage for any other reason than the want of power to contain. . . . But, if there be no reason of this kind, then rest assured that not even a first marriage is allowed. For marriage has nothing good in itself, save in so far as it is a remedy for necessary evil."²⁸ The question, however, is not what we think of his own arguments for celibacy but rather one of how accurately he presents Paul's teaching. Colet does admit that marriage contained a sacramental principle, as foreshadowing Christ's birth of a Virgin and the Christian's birth of the Church, "both Mother and Virgin."²⁹ However, he goes on to state, "But now that the Bridegroom has come, and the truth of spiritual marriage is fulfilled, there is no longer any necessity for the married state to exist as a figure of that which was to come."³⁰ II Cor. 11:2 is cited in connection with these statements. Most exegetes would insist, however, that the sacramental and typological aspect of marriage is present more clearly in Eph. 5, and in Ephesians there is no suggestion that this value of the married state is limited to the period before the Incarnation. If the union of man and wife is a God-given symbol of the Father's eternal purpose of unifying all things in Christ, a symbol of the unity of Christ and his Church, the value of this would certainly seem to exist as long as there are human beings who can benefit from this means of understanding. Even if the Pauline authorship of Ephesians be rejected, there is still in Col. 3:18 ff. a more positive treatment of family duties as "in the Lord". Whether one does or does not agree with Dodd³¹ that this is a development in Paul's thinking, it is still true that in the Pauline

²⁷First Cor., p. 44.

²⁸ibid., p. 91.

²⁹ibid., p. 91.

³⁰ibid., p. 91.

³¹C. H. Dodd, *New Testament Studies* (New York: Scribner, 1952), pp. 115-118.

writings as a whole there is a more positive view of the married state. Colet fails to include this adequately and, by treating the I Cor. 7 passage by itself, does not give a well-balanced presentation of the Apostle's thought. Furthermore, in commenting on I Cor. 7:7, "But every man hath his proper gift of God . . .", he speaks of celibacy as a gift but never considers the possibility that the same verse may regard the married state as likewise a divine gift. The validity of this more balanced interpretation is upheld not only by modern exegetes but also by Origen.³² The tendency of some recent writers is abruptly to dismiss the Pauline teaching on celibacy as unworthy of serious consideration. Although Colet has allowed his own attitudes to lead him somewhat off the path of sound exposition, his arguments can warn us against neglecting some aspects of Biblical teaching which are uncongenial to the spirit of our own age.

An acquaintance with Colet's exegetical works is of value today. Many of his incisive and perceptive statements are worthwhile in themselves, and his writings also help give a sense of proportion in viewing the results of modern interpretation. The presuppositions of his age are very different from ours, and he can help the present day writer guard against his own unconscious tendencies. As a pre-Reformation author, he can help reveal the strengths and possible weaknesses of post-Reformation treatments, of the doctrine of justification for example. To appreciate this fifteenth-century exegete is to evaluate modern New Testament study more soundly. The comparison reveals the very real advances which have been made, while inspiring a bit of helpful humility about it all too.

JONATHAN SWIFT, PREACHER

By WILLIAM JOSEPH BARNDT

Ogallala, Nebraska

In the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* of April, 1957, the Reverend Dr. Hiram R. Bennett dealt with the subject, "Jonathan Swift, Priest."

³²James Moffatt, *First Epistle of Paul to Corinthians* (New York: Harper), p. 76. A. T. Robertson and A. Plummer, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on First Epistle of St. Paul to Corinthians* (New York: Scribner's, 1911), p. 136.

Dr. Bennett showed that although Swift was not an eminent theologian, still he was "a faithful priest, a sensible preacher, and a good pastor." It is the purpose of this article to discuss Jonathan Swift as a preacher.

I

Swift did not enjoy preaching. In fact, he regarded his own sermons as nearly worthless. When he gave his whole collection of sermons to Dr. Thomas Sheridan, he said, "Here are a bundle of my old Sermons; you may have them if you please; they may be of some use to you: they have never been of any to me" (Quoted in the introductory part of Volume XIV of Swift's *Works*, New York, 1812).

He did, however, have very definite ideas about preaching and the practical subject of sermon preparation and delivery. These ideas are presented in "A Letter to a Young Clergyman Lately entered into Holy Orders" (*Works*, vol. VIII). Swift, writing from Dublin on January 9, 1719-20, began in a quite disarming way, by saying, "Although it was against my knowledge or advice that you entered into holy orders, under the present dispositions of mankind toward the church, yet since it is now supposed too late to recede, (at least according to the general practice and opinion) I cannot forbear offering my thoughts to you upon this new condition of life you are engaged in."

Having been a clergyman himself for a quarter of a century, Swift offered his young colleague the following advice:

You will do well if you can prevail upon some intimate and judicious friend to be your constant hearer, and allow him with the utmost freedom to give you notice of whatever he should find amiss, either in your voice or gesture: for want of which early warning, many clergymen continue defective, and sometimes ridiculous, to the end of their lives (*Ibid.*, p. 4).

Besides securing a frank and sensible critic, the newly ordained clergyman was also advised by Swift to study the English language—"the neglect whereof is one of the most general defects among the scholars of this kingdom, who seem not to have the least conception of a style, but run on in a flat kind of phraseology, often mingled with barbarous terms and expressions, peculiar to the nation."

Swift thought it best for a clergyman to avoid all obscure terms, for, he explained, "a divine has nothing to say to the wisest congregation of

any parish in this kingdom, which he may not express in a manner to be understood by the meanest among them."

He warned the young man against frequently using "flat unnecessary epithets" and "old threadbare phrases, which will often make you go out of your way to find and apply them, are nauseous to rational hearers, and will seldom express your meaning, as well as your own natural words." Swift was an ardent advocate for simplicity in the preparation and delivery of sermons.

The Dean recommended driving home some one particular point. He wrote: "If your arguments be strong, in God's name offer them in as moving a manner as the nature of the subject will properly admit." The purpose of preaching, Swift told the young clergyman, was "first, to tell the people what is their duty, and then to convince them that it is so."

Theoretically, Swift was against the practice of preachers reading their sermons. He believed, however, that if a man read his sermon, at least it indicated that he had made some preparation, whereas, if it were not read, the preacher probably had not even made preparation.

So practical was Swift's advice about preparing the sermon manuscript, that it seems elementary and trite. He advised the preacher to write the whole sermon in a large, plain hand, with all the forms of margin, paragraph, marked page and the like. He suggested that the preacher run over the sermon five or six times on Sunday morning. He urged the young clergyman "to add one half crown a year to the article of paper; to transcribe your sermons in as large and plain a manner as you can; and either make no interlineations, or change the whole leaf; for we, your hearers, would rather you should be less correct, than perpetually stammering which I take to be one of the worst solecisms in rhetoric [sic]."

Reaffirming his belief that the clergy should practice preaching, Swift wrote: "And lastly, read your sermon once or twice a day for a few days before you preach it."

He strongly urged the young man to avoid wit in his sermons, for, he held, "it is very near a million to one that you have none; and because too many of your calling have consequently made themselves everlastingly ridiculous by attempting it."

Before a preacher disparaged a subject or a philosophy in a sermon, Swift advised that he first inquire as to what it was he wanted to run down!

The Dean cautioned against using too many quotations, and suggested that on the whole quotations be confined to those from Holy Scripture.

Concerning the practice of "explaining mysteries" which some preachers indulged in, Swift stated: "I do not find that you are any where directed in the canons or articles, to attempt explaining the mysteries of the Christian religion. And, indeed, since providence intended there should be mysteries, I do not see how it can be agreeable to piety, orthodoxy, or good sense to go about such a work. For, to me, there seems to be a manifest dilemma in the case: if you explain them, they are mysteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no purpose. What I should think most reasonable and safe for you to do upon this occasion, is, upon solemn days, to deliver the doctrine as the church holds it; and confirm it by scripture."

In reference to the subject of preachers attacking straw-men and philosophies incompatible with the Christian religion, Swift doubted whether it was wise "to perplex the minds of well-disposed people with doubts, which probably would never have otherwise come into their heads." In the same vein, he observed, "I think the clergy have almost given over perplexing themselves and their hearers with abstruse points of predestination, election, and the like."

Swift's advice on preparing and delivering sermons has seldom been excelled, even by that band of homiletic instructors who have written about, and taught, the subject of preaching in the past 238 years, since the time Swift composed his letter on the subject.

II

Swift seems to have heeded his own advice as far as the composition of sermons is concerned. His extant sermons are characterized by a simple and straightforward manner. He spoke in terms which nearly anyone would be able to understand, and his suggestions were practical.

For instance, in his sermon on "The Difficulty of Knowing One's Self," Swift endeavored to prove that man was generally the most ignorant creature in the world regarding himself. To prove this point he asserted that men seldom conversed with themselves or took notice of what passed within them. He deplored the all-too-true fact that the "average Churchman" almost never examined himself.

Swift said that men failed to reflect on their lives because that was

a work and labour of the mind which could not be performed without some pain and difficulty. Men seldom conversed with themselves, the Dean observed, because the business of the world took up all their time, and especially "because such conversation with his own heart may discover some vice or some infirmity within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himself guilty of." Swift succeeded in driving home the point that man is very ignorant of himself, and he endeavored then to tell his listeners what their duty was in that respect, and to convince them to practice private self-examination.

In Swift's sermon on The Trinity he showed that he followed his own advice concerning sermons on mysteries. The doctrine of the Trinity, said Swift, "as delivered in holy Scriptures, though not exactly in the same words, is very short, and amounts only to this: that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are each of them God, and yet there is but one God." The Dean stated that "this union and distinction are a mystery unknown to mankind." His position on this subject was summarized in these words: "This is enough for any good Christian to believe on this great article, without ever inquiring any farther. And this can be contrary to no man's reason, although the knowledge of it is hid from him."

True to his own advice which he had offered the young clergyman, Swift delivered the doctrine as the Church holds it, and then confirmed it by scripture in the rest of the sermon.

III

Dean Swift showed at the beginning of most of his sermons that he had a purpose in preparing each one, and that he knew what his plan was to accomplish his purpose.

For instance, in a sermon on False Witness, Swift stated at the outset that he intended to show his hearers several ways by which a man might be called a false witness against his neighbours.

He said, "I shall give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers."

"And lastly," Swift said in the introductory part of the sermon, "I shall conclude with showing you very briefly, how far it is your duty, as good subjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witness, when you

are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own conscience."

IV

Swift's sermon on "Sleeping in Church" contains a few parts which will never grow old. He said that some men were frequently absent from Church. The excuses for their absence he then enumerated: "Some are so unfortunate as to be always indisposed on the Lord's day." "Others have their affairs so oddly contrived, as to be always unluckily prevented by business." "Others again discover strange fits of laziness, that seize them, particularly on that day, and confine them to their beds." Others "keep the sabbath by eating, drinking, and sleeping, after the toil and labour of the week."

What these quotations show is that Swift was well aware of the various excuses churchmen make for neglecting the worship of God, and that very little ingenuity has been used during the past two centuries by churchmen in inventing new excuses!

IN DEFENCE OF THEOLOGICAL LIBERALISM

By BERNARD M. G. REARDON

Kelly Rectory, Lifton, Devon

Fashions occur in thought as in things material, and what yesterday was *de rigueur* is to-day decried or forgotten. During the past thirty years liberalism in theology has been out of favour, having been replaced by a cautious, not to say backward-looking, conservatism. After the first World War the prophets of an age of crisis—Kierkegaard, whose writings had at last begun to appear in translation, and Karl Barth, whose earlier publications, *The Word of God and the Word of Man* and *The Epistle to the Romans*, struck a new and thrilling note of disillusion and challenge—were felt to speak with a more significant voice to the spiritual condition of the times than did the theological mentors of an era which had committed its faith to religious immanentism and secular progressivism and had been so rudely betrayed for its

credulity. And with the perpetuation of the atmosphere of crisis—even yet, in mid-century, we still breathe it—the appeal of theological reaction, with its recall to Biblical theology and Reformation dogma, has remained, among those who are seriously open to religious approaches, widely influential. Nevertheless I believe there are signs that the force of this reaction is by now somewhat spent and that Protestant theologians—I use the epithet to imply no more than nonpapist—are awakening to the need of a doctrine more sympathetic in its treatment of some of the intellectual assumptions of our own epoch. The eschatological emphasis must of course have its due place in any professedly orthodox and Biblical presentation of Christian belief: in the original Kerygma it was a staple element; but it has also to be understood that the Christian Gospel must be preached in the situations which history imposes on us—situations that are ever-changing, since history itself is ever-moving. Reactions may have their temporary and sometimes salutary uses; but the word implies contrast with and opposition to those *actions* which constitute, despite possible aberrations, the true current and forward motion of tendencies and events.

I am not suggesting that the anti-liberal movement in religious thought has not been justified, or that its results have necessarily favoured obscurantism. Its initial protest had reason behind it and was directed, with considerable effect, against the kind of negations with which the extremer forms of liberalism had been largely identified. A half-century ago Protestant theology was in poor shape. It amounted to little more than historical scholarship, the achievements of which, in its own field, were often wholly admirable.¹ But scholarship—the literary-historical study of the Biblical and early Christian writings, history of doctrine, Church history, etc.—is not, *pace* the nomenclature of the academic syllabus, theology proper. Dogmatics received little attention except among the most conservative. Treatises on “Biblical theology”—Ewald’s or Bernhard Weiss’s, for example—had become markedly old-fashioned, whereas on the speculative side “philosophy of religion”, re-inforced by “comparative religion,” engaged the best minds. The phenomena of religious belief presented a terrain rather for psychological investigation—as in William James’s *Varieties of Religious Experience*²—than for constructive theological interpretation.

¹Adolf Harnack of Berlin provides a signal example: a great scholar and a mediocre thinker.

²Sub-titled *A Study of Human Nature*: Gifford Lectures delivered at the University of Edinburgh, 1901-2.

Little wonder is it that Ernst Troeltsch, one of the last of the great German liberals, some few years before his death exchanged his university chair of theology for one in philosophy. The action signified more perhaps than a personal preference and was symbolic of a general intellectual situation.

If then the case against liberalism can so easily be stated why, it may be asked, go to the trouble of defending a discredited cause? The short answer, in my belief, is that the insights of liberalism were of permanent value and that the liberal aim, far from being destructive, was in fact the deepening of religious faith. Depreciation of the nineteenth century ideology, of its humanism, of its naive confidence in evolutionary progress, has become somewhat too facile. We have lived in crisis so long that we have become glib about it, and convictions that should have been wrung from us only in spiritual travail now spring too readily to the tongue. Theology in consequence has tended to settle into a biblicism at once fanciful and smug. But the truths which the nineteenth century thinkers quite certainly grasped, being valid still, are disregarded only at cost to an authentic comprehension of what Christianity should mean to an intelligent believer of our own day. They involve nothing less than the very nature of revelation and faith—questions which cannot be dismissed as not being theological questions at all, since they necessarily raise enquiries concerning the rational foundations on which theology, as itself a construction of reason, must needs rest. Unhappily there has in recent years been a noticeable tendency to by-pass the underlying problem of the *truth* of religion and in particular of Christianity by concentrating either on what the adoption (on whatever grounds) of the religious attitude will necessitate in practice: i.e., in individual and social conduct; or on what Christian doctrine, identified usually with a phase of its development held to be normative, must be taken to comprise. The result has been that "the Faith," objectively considered, rather than *faith* as a subjective disposition, is the now almost exclusive end of study; and this in an age when the really pressing question is how a generation whose outlook has been conditioned by science and technology is to understand religious belief at all.

That the weaknesses of the nineteenth century liberalism were serious cannot of course be gainsaid. In its vaunted historical approach to the Scriptures it yet could be curiously unhistorical, reading into the alien circumstances of a far-off era the ethical humanitarianism so

characteristic of its own. In England the case of Matthew Arnold is, I suggest, especially illuminating. His treatment of the Bible in *Literature and Dogma*, for example, is as unscientific, by modern standards, as any dogmatic exegesis of the older schools, Catholic or Protestant, could possibly have been. Assuredly he discountenanced any merely "historical estimate" of value no less in Biblical study than in secular literary criticism, but his own interpretation of the Bible was based upon what he himself supposed was a properly historical account of the Jewish-Christian Scriptures as a body of literature. Given the historical knowledge with which the critic must necessarily be equipped it only remained to study the Bible "with a fair mind, and with the tact which letters, surely, alone can give." "For the thing," he was confident, "turns upon understanding the manner in which men have thought, their way of using words, and what they mean by them." Thus would we become acquainted "not only with the history, but also with the scope and powers, of the instruments which men employ in thinking and speaking."³ Yet what Arnold found in the gospels was only the figure of one who had "a new and different way of putting things." Jesus' historical characteristic was *epieikia*, "sweet reasonableness." Arnold, in other words, looking back into the far distance of time saw there a cultivated mid-Victorian liberal, doubtless a progenitor of Arnold himself. Nor was it substantially otherwise with Harnack. Arnold was no historian and had little historical sense, his knowledge of scientific Biblical study being negligible. But if the eminent German scholar could not present a realistic picture of the "Jesus of history" then New Testament history was enigmatic indeed and the scientific approach to it a *cul-de-sac*. Schweitzer's impressive reminder, in *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, that the historical figure had faded beyond recovery, was and remains necessary. Liberalism, moreover, when viewed from the orthodox standpoint, appeared to be theologically unsound. To the concepts of the divine transcendence and an "objective" revelation it gave less than due emphasis; and it is these above all that the contemporary reaction, led by Karl Barth, insists upon. Revelation must be understood as something more than, to use the Hegelian terminology, the progressive self-realization of Spirit in history; and very much more than the mere historical objectification of an innate religious capacity of the mind itself.

³Ed. 1884 (London), p. 39.

What then have we to learn from the masters of the last century? Must we be content to accept in substance Newman's definition of liberalism as simply "false liberty of thought, or the exercise of thought upon matters, on which, from the constitution of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and therefore is out of place," and thus regard the whole liberal movement in theology as no better than a temporary aberration from the true standards of faith? Admittedly by the time Barth's earlier work had begun to appear theological liberalism needed a thorough overhaul; and this it has since received. Nevertheless I believe the time to be ripe for an attempt at an unprejudiced and constructive appraisal. The intellectual climate of the nineteen-fifties is vastly different from that of the eighteen-fifties and the discussion of theological problems is bound now to take a very different form, so that for us to assess the real merits of serious religious thinkers two or three generations back poses an obvious difficulty. We ought however to try to do so, not in any spirit of patronage, as if we may be assumed to know better and to be incapable of errors of our own, but because the liberal teaching is in a number of respects relevant and important. And to begin with we need a clearer picture in mind of what the theological scene of the mid- and later nineteenth century looked like and what the theologians of that date felt to be their responsibility. We must, that is, reconsider the questions which seemed then to be most pressing. We shall thus, I think, be able to see that they are questions which also await an answer from us.

The basic problem, for the liberals, was the possibility, in face of the mounting demands of scientific rationalism, of how to *believe*. On the side of the Churches little was offered beyond a dry orthodoxy founded on a literalist and dogmatic reading of the Scriptures. Between these two extremes however was there a *tertium quid* in the form of an authentic, i.e. morally convincing, knowledge of God? The urgency of this was clearly grasped by the German romantic theologian, Friedrich Schleiermacher, whose *Discourses on Religion*, published in 1799, may fairly be said to mark the beginning of an epoch in religious thought. Schleiermacher's influence long pervaded German Lutheranism and in the work of Rudolf Otto has persisted to our own day. It is indeed one of the forces against which Barth has so sharply reacted. One sentence in the *Discourses* might in particular have been chosen as motto for the whole nineteenth century liberal movement. "You

cannot," Schleiermacher says, "believe in God arbitrarily, but only because you must" (*Ihr könnt ihm nicht glauben willkürlich, sondern weil ihr müsst*). To appreciate the true motives of liberalism we should weigh these words with care. What their author meant by them is that belief, to be authentic, must be so freed from all merely external and adventitious sanctions as to enable it to take shape under the impress of truth itself. Faith, that is to say, must arise in us perforce; it must be felt as an inescapable assurance rooted in the soil of the rational and moral consciousness. The fundamentals of Christian belief could and would, he held, create such an assurance. By contrast, an *argued* belief, resting on a calculation of probabilities determined by "evidences," or one accepted on authority alone, lacked this proper quality of inwardness. Schleiermacher's followers, however differing in temperament and interests, all in one way or another admitted this criterion as true; and in so doing their aim was the emphatically positive one of setting faith upon a secure foundation. Why then, it is unavoidable to ask, have they been denounced as sceptical and subversive?

The answer is that their position appeared to derive intellectually from a radical criticism of the Scriptures by which the entire orthodox conception of the revealed Word of God seemed to be impugned. But the fact is that the consistent efforts of the liberal theologians in quest of an authentic as distinct from an "arbitrary" faith had led them to attach the utmost importance to a similarly authentic knowledge of the Bible. Whereas however the criterion of an authentic faith was that it should be truly personal and *subjective*, that of an authentic knowledge of the Bible was that it must be *objective* and historical. When we perceive how necessary, to the liberal mind, was the right kind of knowledge for the right kind of faith, we can understand why they should have insisted on a critical study of the *documentary* credentials of Christianity as the indispensable foreword to a soundly reasoned apologetic. The two aims can be traced to a common source in the preceding century. In Germany the criticism of the Bible may be said to have originated in questions raised by the rationalist theologians Semler and Reimarus and a little later by the philosopher Lessing—none of whom, it must be conceded, showed more than slight regard for orthodox susceptibilities—who disputed the historicity of certain Biblical narratives and challenged accepted theological interpretations. Much was made of the evident contradictions in the Biblical tradition

and particularly in the Resurrection-stories. What however had moved the eighteenth century writers to criticize the Bible was not so much (if at all) a desire to discredit its authenticity as to express a growing feeling that the view of it which rested its authority primarily on a dogmatic assumption of its verbal inerrancy was no longer tolerable. Their critical ventures were in themselves haphazard and crude enough but what they really were aiming at was the overthrow of a received theology which had ceased to command their respect and to which they now declined to submit. Modern Biblical study may thus be said to have begun in an attempt to settle the basic theologico-philosophical problem of the seat of authority in religion: wherein it lay and the nature of its demand upon the believer; so that the rationalist criticism was itself a phase, delayed by a couple of centuries, of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth.

It could of course be objected—as it very soon was—that what the eighteenth century forerunners of liberalism were trying to do can best be described as one more stage in the progress of infidelity. Any such judgement would, I think, be unfair and misleading. Rationalism no doubt delivered a sharp attack on traditional notions; yet, paradoxical as it may seem, the thinkers of the *Aufklärung*, whatever their limitations, were really more alive to the true meaning of authority in religion than were their orthodox opponents. They desired a doctrine which would not simply constrain and restrict the intelligence but win its free and willing adherence; a doctrine, that is, which could command an assent at once rational and moral. The apostles of reason might thus be said to have represented a nearer approximation to faith, according to its true and spiritual meaning, than any achieved by the sort of theologizing which was usually taken for it.

In this aim the nineteenth century liberals were the rationalists' followers, having in the meantime and under romanticist and Hegelian tuition, acquired a profounder sense of the historical, along with a more expert knowledge of history itself and of the means and methods of investigating it. Thus the claim for liberty in the scientific study of the Bible was a token less of scepticism and unbelief than of trust in the capacity of truth to meet all trials. It was natural therefore that the liberals should be not only theologians but scholars; and as natural, we may say, for the conservative and the intellectually timorous, to accuse them of having wantonly attacked the Scriptures in furtherance of their hostility to all religious belief as hitherto understood.

Yet one has only to turn to the dusty pages of almost any sample of eighteenth century dogmatics to realize that in orthodox hands the Bible had become little more than a quarry of materials for theological system-building, with the consequence that its deeper spiritual meaning had become obscure even to those who professed to venerate it above all else. In the course of the century following it came to be more clearly seen that a new theological reformation was imperative. Schleiermacher's own teaching also had somewhat mollified orthodox opinion by showing that the old doctrine of inspiration might after all be jettisoned without loss to the intrinsic value of the Scriptures or necessarily invalidating their historical witness. No impiety was implied in the attempt to view them in the light of history, even when full account had to be taken of the marks which they bore—obvious to the historian—of the human soil whence they had sprung. And with a new awareness of the significance and relevance of the past as such had come an understanding of religion itself as a phenomenon whose manifold variety had been revealed only in the process of the ages. The nineteenth century could thus no longer endorse the rationalist idea of a universal "natural" religion and dismissed it as an abstract fiction the pattern of which, under concrete historical conditions, was to be looked for in vain. It was idle therefore to resort to the Bible for the discovery of "eternal" truths of the kind beloved of the Enlightenment. The Bible belonged to history and its teachings could be profitably studied only under the forms with which history had clothed them.

Nevertheless the risks involved, as the conservative orthodox saw the matter, were perilous. The historical study of the Bible had proved also to be a *critical* study, the criteria of which were determined not by faith but by reason. It thus appeared that the content of divine revelation itself must become the subject of a rationalizing—and radically minimizing—discrimination: a fear which was enhanced rather than allayed by the publication in 1835-6 of D. F. Strauss's *Life of Jesus*.⁴ Here the insolent impartiality of the author's critical attitude only rendered his particular conclusions the more objectionable. The gospel narrative, he held, must be read simply as the *myth* in which primitive Christianity had embodied a metaphysical idea: on no scientifically reputable meaning of the word could the New Testament accounts of the life and work of the "Man-God" Jesus be regarded

⁴An English translation of the fourth German edition by Marian Evans (George Eliot) appeared in 1846.

as history. Strauss of course was an extremist; but the question to be faced was whether such views were not already implicit in the historico-critical method itself. On the whole, therefore, and with the somewhat later example of the Tübingen scholars also before them, conservative divines declared their hostility, in greater measure or less, to any attempt at dealing with the sacred text on the lines of the "higher criticism." The offspring of scepticism, this last could but itself become the parent of infidelity. Hence it was that the liberals' adoption of the critical standpoint—in the interest, I repeat, of making the "spirit and truth" of the Gospel the more clearly evident—had the effect of aligning them with those who (as it seemed) studied Scripture only to discredit it. Dr. Rudolf Bultmann in our own day finds himself in similar case: a sincere, if markedly liberal, believer, his name rightly or wrongly has become associated with the practice of a critical method the results of which may appear largely negative.

But the essential purpose of the liberal theologians—as now it is Bultmann's—was to justify the authenticity of the religious attitude, by appeal not to occurrences whose historicity is dubious, or indeed to any other merely extraneous considerations, but to the testimony of personal experience. It is the immediacy and potential universality of religious experience which made belief in God not arbitrary, *willkürlich*, but necessary. Truth had its basis not in the questionable and unconvincing sanction of the dogma of plenary inspiration or of supposedly nature-defying miracles, but in the recognized facts of the moral life itself.

In speaking of *experience*, however, and of its centrality to any authentic view of religion, I am aware of the distrust which the term is now apt to evoke. But at one time it was much in vogue as offering the key to modern apologetics. The nineteenth century liberals gave it a variety of connotations, which may be seen to fall into two broadly contrasting groups. To the first no one can reasonably take objection, but the other is the main cause of the disfavour into which "experientialist" types of theology have come. On the one hand are those who, in invoking experience, would throw no doubt at all on the reality of its object. For them subject and object admit of no confusion since without the latter the "experience" itself would not be possible. This object, they recognize, is historically mediated and its nature and activity are defined in dogma. To insist on the experiential character of faith is simply to detach it from all suggestion of an exclusively in-

tellectual or "notional" assent to doctrinal formulas. "That religion", to quote the words of the late Professor Clement C. J. Webb, "should be rightly described as an 'experience' of ours is thus in no way inconsistent with its being at the same time a 'revelation' of himself to us on the part of God."⁵ On the other hand the whole and unique meaning of religious experience may be represented as belonging to its *subjective* character, as the embodiment and expression of an aptitude rooted in human nature as such. On this view its interest is primarily psychological and ethical and was so treated by William James. It appears as basically no more than a form of human activity very variously manifested. This diversity is necessary to its life and continuity, since the self-realization of the human spirit depends on the particular modes of its concrete objectification; modes which are in no single instance sufficient and final. "Religion," in other words, "lives through the death of religions."⁶

I do not say that these disparate views were held in clear antithesis to each other; indeed it is because they so easily seem to merge that any attempt to authenticate Christianity by appeal to "experience" is suspect in the eyes of many of our contemporary theologians. The latter would point out that even among writers who have used the word with a genuinely theological meaning there yet is detectable a certain ambiguity of tone, a failure perhaps to stress the sheer *givenness* of revelation and therefore an excessive preoccupation with the human agencies through which that revelation actually reaches us. The liberal teachers, they maintain, invariably convey the impression that what in traditional language is said to have been a revelation of God could more properly have been called a *discovery* by man; whereas for themselves the divine action must always be understood as *prevenient*, or prior to human apprehensions.

⁵*Religious Experience* (1945), p. 29.

⁶Kirsopp Lake, *Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity* (1920), p. 1. This extreme "subjectivist" theory of religion has lately been revived, from the standpoint of modern logical empiricism, by Professor R. B. Braithwaite, of Cambridge, England (*An Empiricist's View of the Nature of Religious Belief*, Cambridge University Press, 1955), who contends that "the primary use of religious assertions is to announce allegiance to a set of moral principles," and invokes in support of his opinion the teaching of Matthew Arnold. He does not, he claims, ignore the differences between religious and moral assertions. Religious assertions are a rule embodied in stories or myths, expressible in terms of empirical propositions, since thus only can they be verificationally understood. But he denies that it is necessary, on empiricist principles, for "the asserter of a religious assertion to believe in the truth of the story involved in the assertions". It is necessary only that the story should be entertained in thought.

I personally feel that these criticisms are one-sided and that the "return to Dogma" has carried us too far. Schleiermacher and his successors did for theology a profoundly important service in teaching that the essential meaning of religion is an encounter of the human soul with God, and that it is from this encounter, and from it alone, that a faith worthy of the name is born. It creates a certitude—a mode, one might say, of knowing—which is authentic, being founded directly upon the object of faith itself. Faith *in* Christ, as distinct from belief or speculation *about* him, will, that is, be a true faith because the outcome of a living experience. The believer receives, as Schleiermacher himself puts it, an *Eindruck*, an "impression" of Christ in heart and mind. This impression and its resultant faith are in fact elements or "moments" in a single movement of apprehension. The priority of the impression is simply that which properly belongs, in the classical language of theology, to prevenient grace. The "truth" as thus known is essentially the truth which is *in* Christ Jesus.

I cannot think that this view materially contradicts our traditional theology. It is opposed only to the dry-as-dust impersonal manner in which, unfortunately, the traditional doctrine was commonly presented. The old orthodoxy had become blind to the real nature and function of dogma; for dogma is much less a statement of abstract truth than the symbol of an existential reality. By pointing to—not by de-limiting—God's self-revelation, dogma is a guide, for those who accept it, to that larger knowledge of the spiritual order which comes through personal moral decision. Religious belief must thus be a personal conviction impressed upon reason and conscience by the intrinsic force of truth itself—self-authenticating truth—which calls for no better evidences than its own inherent appeal. This is what Schleiermacher, and the liberal theologians after him, from Baur to Troeltsch, wanted to say. External "proofs" of the kind to which the older apologists most often had recourse were beside the point; any belief founded upon them would be merely *willkürlich*. Miracles are an example; or prophecies; or the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Bible: the truth which Scriptures hold for the believer does not depend on the sanction of a theory which they themselves nowhere teach. We do not justify the Gospel even by dwelling on the misery of the sinner, after the manner of the old-fashioned evangelism. If we embrace it we must do so because of something more than fear of the consequences of our human

plight. Belief induced in any of these ways is arbitrary and to that extent unauthentic.

We to-day would do well, I think, to remember this. The more recent influence of the existentialist mode of thinking is helping us to correct the one-sided "objectivism" at which Karl Barth seems to aim and to reassess the function of the subject himself in the act of knowing. Barth's fear of "subjectivism"—and his open contempt for the great liberal teachers⁷—are in some ways understandable. The danger, as he has seen it, is that man will neglect and forget the priority of God; that he will, in effect, end by thinking of himself as equal with God and hence justified in sitting in condescending judgement upon God's revelation. The fallacy in the Barthian argument seems to me its confusion of theological method with the actual *content* of doctrine. The fact that the Christian thinker has to begin with his own experience—with himself, that is to say,—does not imply that he thereby substitutes his own subjectivity for God, especially when he realizes that the light of his reason—"the candle of the Lord," as Whichcote called it—is itself a divine gift and that therefore, as between reason and revelation, there is no inherent contradiction. A Barthian emphasis on the givenness of dogma may lead us to mistake form for substance; and where the forms of faith have long ceased to convey meaning or to appear relevant, rejection of the substance is the almost inevitable result—as we are discovering to-day. Christianity claims that God in Jesus Christ has spoken to *man*, and that he still does so through the Bible and the witness of the Church. But if this Word is to reach the men and women of the present age or any other, it must find them where and as they are; it must speak to them in their situation and through their subjectivity. A reactionary dogmatism, stressing whatever in Scripture and Church doctrine is most alien to the outlook of the vast majority of ordinary folk, will only bedevil that task of proclaiming, challenging and above all, perhaps, of communicating, which for every minister and preacher of the Gospel is surely pre-eminent.

⁷For Barth's own account of the liberal movement see his *Die protestantische Theologie im XIX Jahrhundert* (Zurich, 1952).

BOOK REVIEWS

Earliest Intellectual Man's Idea of the Cosmos. By Samuel A. B. Mercer. Luzac & Company, 1957. pp. xx + 122.

Dr. Mercer's most recent published work is an illuminating and useful survey of the conceptions of the cosmos that prevailed in Egypt and Mesopotamia from *ca.* 4000 B. C. to *ca.* 2000 B. C. What we know about human action and thinking in this considerable stretch of time we owe to a multitude of specialists, and no scholar can reasonably claim competence in the whole of it. Dr. Mercer's purpose was not to write a book that would settle all questions, but to trace certain patterns of thought that made it possible for ancient man to live with a minimum of misery in a universe that is still largely an enigma to us. How did nature originate? How was it organized? Who controlled it? How could man make himself feel at home in it? The replies of early civilized man have to be reconstructed from such fragments of evidence as we have. Dr. Mercer has neglected nothing. He takes into account everything that the first civilized men are known to have accomplished or attempted. Sometimes the reader feels a little rushed, but it must be granted that the author covers the ground. His generous and expert understanding of the opening phases of civilization is evident in the last words of his book: "But in all these things two great and important differences divide us moderns from our ancient fellow human beings, namely, the *narrowness* of our faith in comparison with the *all-embracing* character of the faith of the ancients; and, on the other hand, the *extent of our scientific knowledge* in comparison with the *limitations of the science* of the ancient Egyptians and Sumero-Babylonians."

This excellent work could, with advantage, have been pruned and tightened up in the final stage of preparation. The author allows himself rather more repetition than his theme requires, and he is not quite just to himself when he tells us in one place (p. 15) that the Code of Hammurabi is "the oldest code of laws in the world" and later (p. 25) recollects that there are more ancient codes. Perhaps, however, these observations are unduly captious. The book is sound, and this reader intends to recommend it to his pupils.

WALTER C. KLEIN

L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Romains. By Franz-J. Leenhardt. Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1957, pp. 222. Sw. Fr. 12.

For more than a century Continental Protestant New Testament scholars have had ample opportunity to publish in the excellent German language commentaries, e.g. Meyer *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar* and Lietzmann *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*; no similar outlet has been available in the French language. Some ten years ago an imposing group of more than half a dozen Swiss and French Reformed scholars set out to fill this gap, and to date, Delachaux et Niestlé has published six of a projected fifteen numbers in the series, *Commentaire du Nouveau Testament*. The latest to appear in this series is Professor Leenhardt's commentary on *Romans*; like its predecessors, this book is aimed at a large public while carefully observing the requirements of sound exegesis.

After a general introduction, a concise summary of the peculiar problems connected with the sixteenth chapter, and a highly selective bibliography, the author treats each chapter of the Epistle verse by verse. The flowing style of Leenhardt's French in these exegetical comments reminds one of the clarity of Dodd's English prose in his familiar commentary on the Epistle in the Moffatt *Commentary*. Leenhardt's critical approach and his general orientation to the New Testament will be familiar to those who know the frequent essays by him and his fellow editors of the *Commentaire* as they have appeared in *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* (Lausanne) or in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses* (Strasbourg) and their somewhat more detailed contributions to *Cahiers Théologiques* (Neuchâtel) and *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (Zürich). Another way of sampling the viewpoint of this "school" for those who read only English is available through a careful study of the translated works of Walter Eichrodt, Oscar Cullmann, and Maurice Goguel. Their approach combines historical integrity and critical acumen with deep theological insight, and the result is a clearer understanding of the Christian message in its own compelling terms.

Some of Leenhardt's valuable contributions to the study of *Romans* should be noted specially. An instructive suggestion is made in his discussion of the structure of the Epistle; this letter expounds "the Gospel of justification preached by the Apostle as far as Spain" in its *theological* aspect (1:18—5:11), its *anthropological* aspect (5:12—8:39), in its *historical* aspect (9:1—11:36), and in its *ethical* aspect

(12:1—15:33), "to which is added the greeting and exordium at the beginning and, eventually, the greetings of chapter sixteen at the end." This view of the unity of the Epistle makes the three chapters between the so-called body of the work and the ethical directions an integral part of the author's original plan; it is indeed a gain to be able to see these chapters as more than an excursus. His inclusion of the passage on the "perspectives" of the new life in Christ (5:1-11) in the first part of the Epistle disagrees with most modern commentators, but his division of each of the first two sections into five thematically parallel paragraphs removes many of the difficulties created by the similarity in content of this passage and 8:18-39. His treatment of the final chapter of the Epistle takes full cognizance of the important rôle played by the Ephesian Church in the creation of the *corpus Paulinum*, while it avoids the multiplication of assumptions common to most of the "composition theories" regarding this chapter; his inclination to retain the opening two verses of this chapter reflects some modern opinions and is in keeping with his judicious attitude toward the rest of the chapter.

One of the chief tests of any commentator on Romans is his ability to handle the *dikaïos* word-family. Taking his lead from Ps. 98:3, Leenhardt expounds *dikaïosunê* (1 17) in terms of *sôtêria* (1:16); he thus maintains the dynamic character of *diakaïos* and renders irrelevant any discussion about imputation of righteousness. Although he retains the juridical imagery, he insists emphatically that an abstract legalism (*juridisme* is his word) "empties juridical ideas of their human content" and radically alters the Apostle's thought. Consistent refusal to resort to Scholastic categories of substance and constant opposition to static modes of thinking inform all of his exegesis, but hardly anywhere is it more necessary or effective than in this specific area. The same critical integrity is evident in his judgment on another *crux interpretationis*, the doxology at 9:5, where he decides in the absence of a definite article before *theos* that an attribute of Christ is implied rather than His identification with God. This is in accord with the remainder of the Apostle's thinking; he sums up by saying ". . . those who have defended [the latter] in the past were intent upon making more categorical assertions on the essential divinity of Christ than modern exegesis can any longer sustain."

It is earnestly to be hoped that this series and this number in particular will provide an easier path into Continental biblical thought for

the undergraduate seminary student who has no German but who might be encouraged to recall his earlier association with French. After a first reading of this commentary, one is amazed by the vast amount of detail which has been reviewed without a single pedantic excursus, and he is eager to go back and ponder again the simple but profound sentences by which the commentator has stated his views and stimulated active thinking about one of the literary masterpieces of the Christian library.

JULES LAURENCE MOREAU

The Epistle to the Hebrews. No. 15, "Harper's Annotated Bible Series." By Frederick C. Grant. New York: Harper, 1956, pp. 61. \$0.95.

As in other numbers of this series which have been mentioned in this REVIEW, the King James version is printed with full introductions and critical-exegetical notes. Use of the KJ has one value other than sales and the continued use of that version by many people; it provides a comparison of the text and translational methods of 1611 and the 1950's.

Dr. Grant's introductions continue to be magnificent. The present one works out the Platonic and Philonic background of the epistle and there is a fresh and accurate treatment of the Son of God Christology (on p. 20 as well as in the Intro.). One is surprised to find that on p. 5 Grant shows how the structure of Hebrews follows ancient rhetorical models but does not make this clear also in the outline on pp. 17 f.; however in the latter place he concentrates on the progress of thought.

The commentary, as one would expect, reflects a long process of carefully weighing the alternatives. Attention should be called to the following comments: 1:5—2:18, where Grant rejects the idea that Hebrews is directed against "angel" Christology; 2:9, Jesus as "man" or Son of man, where he sets forth the rearrangement of vv. 8b-9 proposed by some scholars and then concludes that it is best simply to state the logic of the author's complicated argument; 6:2, the laying on of hands possibly refers to confirmation, more likely to ordination, but is not limited to this rite; 9:12, on expiation; 12:11, chastisement for sin; 13:10, the idea of the heavenly altar is reflected in the *Supplices te rogamus* section of the Roman canon of the mass; 13:13, "outside the camp."

The author's great knowledge of Judaism, early church history and theology enriches the book throughout. It is altogether a wise and useful production.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums. By Carl Schneider. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1954, 2 vols., pp. iii + 743; xii + 424. DM. 65.

This is a brilliant and thorough treatise on the religious and spiritual development of early Christianity. Beginning with a study of Jesus' teaching and personality, and of the disciples and Paul and John, Schneider deals with the religious, social and political background and the interaction of Christianity with it. The latter part of volume I is taken up by studies of Christianity in the several regions, including a larger number of localities than did J. Weiss and R. Knopf in *The History of Primitive Christianity*, since of course Schneider carries the story down to a much later date.

The second volume discusses expressions of Christianity in literature, the arts, worship, organization and law; the interaction of classical culture and Christianity; and the new world and the new Christianity that resulted. Its purpose is therefore similar to that of C. N. Cochrane's *Christianity and Classical Culture*. It is thoroughly documented, with magnificent bibliography and indices at the end.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

History of the Moravian Church: The Story of the First International Protestant Church. By Edward Langton. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956, pp. 173. 12/6.

In May 1957 the Moravian Church observed the five hundredth anniversary of its birth. Special celebrations were held this summer in Czechoslovakia, the birthplace of this old communion, and a jubilee General Synod was held this August in Bethlehem, Pa. An anniversary observance was held by the National Union of Czechoslovak Protestants in the U. S. A. and Canada meeting in Chicago the last days of August. A number of monographs and historical studies have been published in Czech, German, and English. In this country, Cornell University Press published last year *Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Missions to the Delaware Indians*, by Elma E. Gray, and from the Abingdon Press we have John R. Weinlick's *Count Zinzendorf*.

The most recent book about the Moravians, issued in commemoration of the quinqucentennial, is *History of the Moravian Church* by Edward Langton who is a Fellow of the British Royal Historical Society. The author has already a number of books to his credit, mostly in the field of demonology (*Good and Evil Spirits*, *Satan: The Doctrine of Spirits*, *The Angel Teaching of the New Testament*, and *The Ministries of Angelic Powers*). His latest book has come to us in an attractive octavo format and is enhanced by six illustrations. Unfortunately, in other aspects, the book is weakened by a number of deficiencies which will prove difficult going for the reader who expects a work that would bring the latest findings of historical research coupled with meticulous scholarly reserve. In reviewing the book, a member of the Prague Comenius Theological Seminary wrote recently in *Křesťanská Revue* (XXIII, p. 224), "It is apparently easier to feel at home among demons and to know the character of Satan than it is to become acquainted with the more recent historiography of the Moravian Church."

Langton's basic objective is to interpret in 21 chapters a consecutive history of Moravianism as the oldest Protestant Church (what about the Waldensians?) which continues an uninterrupted existence to our own day and is active in ecumenical and especially missionary fields. Now this is a worthy thesis but it needs documentation. Its absence is one of the weaknesses of Langton's book.

Langton's book is deficient in three areas in particular: (1) *Historical errors and inaccuracies*. Langton asserts that Bohemia and Moravia existed side by side as two independent kingdoms during the Middle Ages (pp. 7, 11). There is no evidence to support this statement. Greater Moravia, as a kingdom, preceded Bohemia. It disintegrated after the death of King Mojmir II in 906. Ever since that time it has been a province of the Bohemian crown. Next, Langton makes a bland assertion that these two regions "(formed) since the First World War part of the Kingdom (!) of Czecho-Slovakia" (p. 7). Now I have lived in Czechoslovakia between the two world wars, and the only kings I have seen there were buried in the crypt or ambulatory of St. Vitus' Cathedral in Prague. The author is, furthermore, very cavalier with dates. He says, for example, that the Prague bishopric was established in 968 and elevated to an archbishopric in 1350, whereas the correct dates should be A. D. 973 and 1344 respectively (p. 12 f.). John Hus was born in 1371 and not between 1373 and 1375. (2) *Mis-spellings and corruptions*. Czech names come out in Langton's book

in strange corrupt forms: John Milicz (or Militsch) becomes Militach (p. 13, 15 et al.); John Žižka, the Taborite generalissimo, becomes John de Trautenau (p. 25); Thomas of Prelouc becomes Prychelaus (p. 35), King Vladislav of Poland becomes Uladislaus (p. 36), Peter Chelčický becomes Shellsits (p. 28), etc., etc. (3) *Questionable Sources*. The greatest weakness of the book consists in the author's exclusive dependence on works that are passé and in his total ignorance of modern historiography in the field of Hussitica and Moraviana. In the first seven chapters he describes quite uncritically the conception of the old Unitas Fratrum as he found it in a book almost 200 years old (with a thesis that has been refuted many times since), *Alte und neue Bruederhistorie* by David Cranz (Barnby, 1771) and in a similarly antiquated book, *Histoire des Frères de Bohême et de Moravie* by Ami Bost (1831). Furthermore, he knows both these works only in their English translation made in 1780 and in 1834 respectively. Langton's most recent literary source for the early history of the Czech Reformation is J. E. Hutton's *A Short History of the Moravian Church*, published in 1895, more than sixty years ago! From the point of view of critical historical scholarship it is quite inexcusable to write today a history of the Hussite or Moravian churches without reference to such basic works as the writings of Antonin Gindely, Jaroslav Goll, or of the tireless Herrnhut historian Joseph Th. Mueller. Concerning Hus, Langton, to be sure, depends on Count Luetzow (1909); he knows nothing about the more recent and thorough studies of Matthew Spinka or Harrison S. Thomson. Some of the literary vacuum in Langton's *History* may be excused by his lack of knowledge of the German language, but this does not explain why he did not take note of the more recent works in English (he ignores that in 1940 the American journal *Church History* published an excellent appraisal of the Czech Reformation leaders or that, in 1943, Matthew Spinka published, in the same journal, a very detailed essay, "Peter Chelčický, Spiritual Father of the Unitas Fratrum"). It is surprising that Langton, a member of the British Royal Historical Society, does not know of an accurate study of another Fellow in the same Society, R. R. Betts' "English and Czech Influences on the Hussite Movement," published in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, Vol. XXI (London, 1939). He missed also a French study, Victor L. Tapié, *Une Église tchèque au XV siècle, l'Unité des Frères* (Paris, 1934). Naturally, his ignorance of the more recent Moravian historio-

graphy, written in Czech, is excusable, even though it should not belong to the virtues of a scholar concerned with Czech and Moravian history. Thus, not a single mention is made of the basic and recent works of F. M. Bartoš, F. Hrejsa, Jos. Novotný, A. Molnár, R. Holinka, O. Odložilík, to name just a few. He treads upon dangerous sands when he endeavors to defend the thesis of the legitimate succession of the old Unitas Fratrum through the "renewed" Moravian Church of Herrnhut. The "pious fraud" of Count Zinzendorf has been exposed by F. M. Bartoš of the Prague Comenius Theological Seminary and analyzed by this reviewer in the *Iliff Review*, XI (1954), 29-38. The Moravian anniversary has not been enhanced or honored by the publication of Edward Langton's book; it is aiding new mistakes to old fallacious theories, and from the scholarly point of view it has not brought forth a single new insight.

ENRICO C. S. MOLNAR

The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism. By Louis Bouyer, translated by A. V. Little-dale. The Newman Press, 1956, pp. xiii + 234. \$3.75.

Readers of the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* who are also familiar with the English magazine *Theology* will possibly remember an editorial in its October, 1954, number on a new book from France entitled *Du Protestantisme à l'Eglise*. This work received high praise from *Theology's* editor for its careful, as well as sympathetic, analysis of the Reformation, written by a Protestant convert to Rome. The author in question was Louis Bouyer, a priest of the French Oratory, formerly a Lutheran clergyman.

The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism is an English translation of this work, and we can be grateful that still another of Fr. Bouyer's writings has been given a wider circulation in the English-speaking world. This work is important, and for the two reasons which correspond to its two main divisions: it gives us the discussion of the Reformation by a Roman Catholic which the editor of *Theology* admired, and it gives us also an insight into the attempts of certain Roman Catholic circles to re-evaluate both the Reformation and the Protestantism which has arisen from it.

Fr. Bouyer sees the Reformation as a re-affirmation in the sixteenth century of certain positive principles of the Catholic faith which the popular religion and the official leaders of the late medieval Church had allowed to be obscured: salvation by grace, the sole sovereignty of

God, personal commitment in religion, and the sovereign authority of Scripture. These "positive principles of the Reformation," Bouyer affirms, are fundamental to Catholicism, and badly needed the emphasis which Luther and Calvin, together with certain reformers at Rome, were laying upon them. Little of this picture is new or startling; it is the manifest sympathy with the Protestant reformers and their ideals, as well as an informed appreciation of Protestant religious life which is unexpected in a work of this nature, written from this point of view.

The second half of Fr. Bouyer's analysis may seem less satisfactory, especially to Protestant students of the Reformation. He goes on, inevitably, to discuss the negative elements of the Reformation; and here the allegedly prevailing Occamist philosophy of the late middle ages is made to bear the blame. Both the Reformers and their Roman opponents were looking at the problem of the "positive principles" from a standpoint which had cut the connection between God and his world. The alternatives could be either a "Protestant" annihilation of man on the one hand, or an opposing glorification of man on the other: the rejection of Protestant error, says Fr. Bouyer, could only lead to a rejection of much of the truth which the Protestant reaffirmations contained.

The Occamist basis of both Luther's and Calvin's outlook is nowadays a much debated topic in Reformation Church history circles; and some may not be so ready to agree to Fr. Bouyer's easy explanation. This much may be said, however: his awareness of the errors of later scholastic Protestantism does not require him to see these as following inevitably from the protest of Luther and Calvin. Nor would many Protestant theologians be prepared to acknowledge that Rome has at last successfully cleansed herself from the unhappy results of opposing the emphasis on Catholic truths which sixteenth century Protestants were making.

When all is said, however, Fr. Bouyer still merits our gratefulness for his charitable and informed approach to our "unhappy divisions." It is exceedingly important for Protestants to know Roman Catholics better than they do: Fr. Bouyer has helped to make this possible.

SAMUEL M. GARRETT

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

A Year With the Bible. By John Marsh.
Harper, 1957, pp. 191. \$2.50.

The lectionary of three hundred sixty-six readings provided includes almost all of the Bible (most of Leviticus is omitted, and parts of other books), for the most part in order. The exceptions are the insertion of some readings from Job and the Psalms to go with the early chapters of Genesis, the interweaving of selections from II Kings and the earlier prophets, and the distribution of the Psalms.

The book is divided into nine parts: the way of understanding, the old way, the way of meditation, the way of wisdom; then, passing to the New Testament, the way of realization, the way of appropriation (two sections), the way of expectation, and "What shall I render?" A brief comment orients the reader to each selection for which a reference is given, and for the whole an introduction on the Bible and the faith is provided.

The author's intention is to assist the Christian toward setting his own life in the Biblical context: "The Bible gives us the whole 'poem' as it were, within which the 'words' of each of our individual human lives is set, and by reason of which each of them can be seen to have a real and vital meaning" (p. 20). The introduction therefore tells what the Bible is and how it came to be, and provides a summary of its total story. It is splendidly done, and the comments on each selection are terse and to the point.

The book is similar to the explanatory material provided in the *Shorter Oxford Bible* (the biblical selections are not printed here) but the freedom to rearrange is an advantage; and one would think the layman would benefit from being con-

ducted through the whole story by one teacher.

The grave difficulties which attend any attempt to mediate between the Bible and modern society by means of some system (middle axioms, or systematic and then moral theology) are notorious. On the showing of a book like Alec Vidler's *Christian Belief and this World*, the Bible becomes relevant when modern Christians address the questions of life in a biblically informed way. But how to understand oneself as a part of the biblical story? I should think the use of this book would advance a Christian a heartening distance along the way.

The Faith of Israel. By H. H. Rowley.
Westminster Press, 1956, pp. 201.
\$3.50.

In a time like ours of a "revival of interest in religion," the question arises, for whom is a book like this written? In his preface Dr. Rowley claims it is for the "more general reader." The reaction of this reviewer is that this book is not for the general reader, who has tried with indifferent success to read the Bible; who has certain ideas about the "contradiction of Genesis by science;" and who has been stirred by the publicity about the Dead Sea Scrolls to ask his rector what to read about the Bible. Lucidity, clarity of thought, and ease of expression are certainly necessary, but more necessary is to look at things from a different point of view, so that the reflections from our present prejudices may not blind us to what is behind the systematic rubrics of God, man, and salvation.

History is the crux, and the insight based on an understanding of history as "content-filled" for the Hebrews gives us

a clue: 12 o'clock is not the time the sun passes the meridian, but is rather time for lunch. The reference has to be in terms, not of experience but of meeting, and of meeting at a particular place and time between persons, for a man can not meet an experience in the abstract. Both Martin Buber and group dynamics have much to teach us about biblical theology.

So, for example, Dr. Rowley, in discussing revelation says we must "strip [the prophet's] work of that which ties it to the situation of his day and perceive its enduring content" (p. 39). But this denies the importance of history. If we interpret the Bible systematically, about as much sense as you can make of revelation is the cumbersome statement "We find revelation through a complex of personality and event in certain moments of special significance in the biblical story" (p. 38). But if we take history seriously, the meeting of God and prophet in an event in time and space are all factors of revelation and no one factor can be ignored without destroying revelation. The historical event is primary; around this cluster the abstractions.

There was nothing here distinctively new to the reviewer, who was graduated from seminary in 1951, when what he learned was not presented as new. The only exception was the comment on *hesedh* as a word to describe man's attitude toward God (p. 130, note 1 and page 62, note 2). For the parson or seminarian who wants traditional theology of the OT, this is a good book; annotated, but not too much; in clear style if you are already interested.

N. G. H.

The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet. By Howard M. Teeple. Society of Biblical Literature, 1957, pp. 122. \$1.50.

This latest addition to the valuable monograph series published by the *Journal of Biblical Literature* is a study of

the concept of the eschatological prophet as it appears in the Old and New Testaments, the rabbinical literature, and relevant Christian writings of the first four centuries. The title is somewhat misleading, since one of the author's important points is that the figure of the future prophet had many forms, of which Moses *redivivus* and the prophet "like unto Moses" (Deut. 18:15) are only examples. The book is, in fact a discussion of whole concept in all its manifold varieties. The author sees the origin of the notion in the story of Elijah's ascension, with its implicit promise of a possible future return. He believes that Jesus, in His early career, identified Himself with the type of eschatological prophet who was expected to prepare the way for the Kingdom and later accepted the popular identification of Himself with a different type, the Prophet-King-Messiah. The parallelism apparently established between Jesus and Moses in Matthew's gospel is the work of the evangelist and not a product of Jesus' own self-consciousness. The book contains many other interesting views, not least of which is the author's opinion with regard to the meaning of the Suffering Servant poems and the identity of their subject, but as in every work of this kind—a revised doctoral dissertation—the most important contribution is the marshalling of a vast amount of evidence which cannot be found conveniently assembled in any other form.

R. C. D.

The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to Kittel-Kahle's Biblia Hebraica. By Ernst Würthwein. Translated by Peter R. Ackroyd. Macmillan, 1957, pp. x + 173. \$3.20.

This is the translation of a book which was published in German in 1952. The German edition was revised, principally by the addition of references to more re-

cent literature, in preparation for this translation. It is an introduction to the study of the text of the Hebrew Bible, written for students who are using Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. Its usefulness is enhanced by the inclusion of forty-one plates which illustrate manuscript witnesses to the text, and by the convenient way in which the plates are referred to in the text of the book. Though it does not claim to be a complete introduction to textual criticism, its value for those who use Kittel's text cannot be exaggerated. It should be widely used in Hebrew classes and by those who "keep up" their Hebrew privately.

H. H. G., JR.

Elia. By Georg Fohrer. Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1957. pp. 96. DM. 12.

Dr. Fohrer's monograph on Elijah is the thirty-first in the series of German publications on the Old and New Testament edited by Eichrodt and Cullmann. Some of these have appeared in English translation in *Studies in Biblical Theology*. Fohrer is concerned with the three Elijah narratives in I Kings 17-19, 21 and II Kings 1:1-17. The first chapter is a rather obvious exposition of the material in its present form with some reference to late glossation. In the second chapter this superficially integrated and artistically composed whole is pulled apart. Six original Elijah episodes are found interspersed with an equal number of late anecdotes. The process of redaction is a complicated one, some of the additions coming as early as the time of Jehu, others being Deuteronomic and one at least as late as the P writer. The parallels between Elijah and Moses are pointed out with the author straining the resemblances in a few cases.

The various items are examined in the light of historical and archaeological studies. In the process Jezebel is relieved of the major blame for the Naboth inci-

dent. It was Ahab's attempt to substitute the Canaanite theory of absolute monarchy for the more democratic Israelite ideal. Fohrer finds a historical nucleus behind the drought episode, the Mt. Carmel contest which was a local affair in the region formerly under Phoenician domination and therefore heavily Canaanite, the Horeb experience which is historical in that the account may stem from the prophet himself, the call of Elisha, the Naboth legal murder and the Ahaziah incident.

The monograph closes with a consideration of Elijah's theology and significance. He is in the Mosaic tradition but he does not merely reiterate it like the Rechabites. He adds a new idea in attributing to Yahweh power over nature in withholding and giving the rain. This new concept of God is found also in the Horeb description of God's self-revelation. Elijah paves the way for the later prophets although they go one step further and change his warning into a message of doom.

Fohrer has given us an interesting, as well as moderate and reasonable, analysis of these chapters. It is somewhat verbose and repetitious. A few points might be questioned. For example, are the four hundred in I Kings 22 clearly Yahweh prophets? (p. 33). Is II Sam. 7 historical? (p. 84).

C. C. R.

The Temple of Jerusalem. By André Parrot. Philosophical Library, 1955, pp. 112. \$2.75.

One cannot help being grateful for the compact and readable *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, of which the present volume is the fifth. The story of the Temple is told in a rapid, moving blend of narrative and description, with an abundance of plates and figures to elucidate the text. The history of the Temple extends from its foundation in the fourth year of King Solomon, through

the destruction of 587 B.C., Ezekiel's blueprint (never executed), the restoration of 515 B.C., Herod's ambitious and lavish improvements, the second demolition in A.D. 70, and the rehabilitation of the area under Christians and Moslems, to the present day, when anybody but an avowed Jew may visit the sacred enclosure on the payment of a small fee. It is an achievement to have crowded into this small volume all that is positively known about the Temple and to have touched on the debatable points without actually debating them.

W. C. K.

Jésus et les Païens. (Cahiers théologiques, 39.) By Joachim Jeremias. Traduction française de Jean Carrère. Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1956, pp. 71. Sw. Fr. 4.70.

While being a valuable contribution to biblical studies, this short work raises unavoidable questions in the theology of missions. The Göttingen professor reasserts an evident fact of Jesus' *own* activity when he establishes that His ministry was limited to Israel, but he reopens a vital area of discussion when he examines the reasons why that ministry was so limited. It is these reasons which lead to a "biblical foundation for [the Church's] mission."

The author first makes three negative observations: Jesus' severe opposition to Jewish proselytism, His injunction against preaching to Gentiles, and the limiting of His ministry to Israel. Then follows a chapter devoted to three positive observations: Jesus' live eschatological hope, His promise of a share in salvation to the Gentiles, and the mode of Gentile participation in His salvific work. A subsequent short chapter reviews the apparent contradiction by recasting it in the biblical categories of election and ministry as they apply to Israel and the Gentiles, respectively; this sets the stage for

a brief but penetrating discussion of the Judaizing conflict which threatened the nascent Christian Church. His conclusion demands an understanding of Missions *via* an apprehension of the Church as an eschatological event in God's effecting of His salvific purpose.

The monograph series, *Cahiers théologiques*, to which this book belongs, is a powerful witness to the increasing importance of the revival of biblical theology for every facet of theological thought and work.

J. L. M.

Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. By André Parrot. Philosophical Library, 1957, pp. 127. \$2.75.

The reviewer is delighted with the sixth volume of *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, which expresses, with an erudition to which he can make no claim, the conclusions at which he arrived when he lived in Jerusalem. Our Lord, almost beyond any reasonable doubt, was crucified outside the second wall of Jerusalem and buried nearby. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands on the spot. The Garden Tomb, once accepted with characteristic imprudence by the Anglican clergy, receives rough treatment in this very thorough little book. Prof. Parrot has produced, not merely a complete, if compressed, history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but a work that embraces all the possible relics of the primitive church of Jerusalem. Here, if one has the sense to see its value, is Lenten reading that may inform as well as edify.

W. C. K.

The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria (*Texts and Studies*, New Series, III). By E. F. Osborn. Cambridge University Press, 1957, pp. xii + 206. \$5.50.

As Dr. Osborn observes, the unsystematic form of Clement of Alexandria's work is not due to accident, still less to

inability to present his ideas systematically, but to deliberate choice (p. 12). After all, great men from Plato to T. S. Eliot have preferred to express their most profound ideas in another form than that of the textbook. Nevertheless the effort to clarify Clement's main ideas is worth making (and we are glad to see the distinguished series recently resumed at Cambridge including this synthetic study). Osborn suggests that in the framework of Middle Platonism the balancing ideas of the transcendence of the One and its expression in the Many come closest to the heart of the matter. In this framework he analyzes Clement's ideas about God, Goodness, and Truth—and how man comes to God, achieves Goodness, and attains to Truth. This is an excellent key, although it may not open all the Clementine doors—it may still leave us wondering, for instance, how Clement combined with his loyal churchmanship his emphasis on the inner élite of the true gnostics who pass beyond faith to the wisdom which is love (an emphasis which brought him closer to Gnosticism, in the bad sense, than he intended to be). Or should one put it that Clement is so thrilled by the vision of the One, to which the Logos leads his elect, that he forgets at times the love of the Saviour for the little ones who still move in the world of the Many? Osborn offers a valuable approach to a subject as fascinating as it is difficult. There are several useful Appendices, including one on the slight references to Clement in late Greek Fathers (Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus the Confessor), and another on the surprising parallels between the Clementine and Thomist "accounts of God" (p. 194). No two Christian philosophers would seem more different in their approaches than Clement and Thomas, but both grasped the essential metaphysical proposition that Being is predicated equivocally.

E. R. H.

De Spiritu Sancto, der Beitrag des Basilidius zum Abschluss des trinitarischen Dogmas (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge Nr. 39). By Herman Dörries. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956, pp. 199. DM 15.—

Most students of patristics or the history of theology are aware that St. Basil wrote an important work on the Holy Spirit, but few have done more than glance at the work itself. Dörries' careful study is therefore a valuable contribution; to a detailed analysis of the contents and structure of the treatise he adds a discussion of its relation to the rest of Basil's work, and to the general movement of Orthodox thought in the critical years of the 370's, on the eve of the Council of Constantinople at which the developed doctrine of the Spirit was to find its place in the Nicene Creed as we know it. I find especially notable the treatment of the relation between Basil's theological work and his monastic rules; the monk for Basil is the spirit-filled man, and conversely the Spirit comes to us in the life of discipline and fellowship, the *koinonia* without which even the angels do not achieve the perfection of their being (pp. 159-161). One cannot say that Basil's teaching on the Spirit is a specifically monastic dogma, but the form it takes is not unrelated to monastic piety (pp. 182-3).

E. R. H.

Bradwardine and the Pelagians. By Gordon Leff. Cambridge University Press, 1957, pp. xi + 282. \$6.00.

This book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the development of theological thought in 14th Century England. The author has shown clearly the fragmentation of thought caused by the thinkers whom Bradwardine called Pelagians, the orthodox intentions of Brad-

wardine in his opposition to their heresies, and the opposite heresy into which his extreme stress on divine participation in every act of man drove him.

Leff calls attention to two features of Fourteenth Century thought that are important. First, thinkers began to write on individual problems or doctrines, leaving the format of the great *Summa*, and second the new interest in the world of nature was responsible for the attempt to ignore or destroy metaphysics which characterized the modern Pelagians.

Leff pictures the stern predestination taught by Bradwardine as formative in Wycliffe's thinking, undermining the concept of sacramental grace and setting the stage for the programs of Luther and Calvin.

L. L. B.

Early Medieval Theology. Translated and edited by George E. McCracken and Allen Cabaniss. *The Library of Christian Classics*, vol. IX. Westminster, 1957, pp. 429. \$5.

This is indeed an exciting book; the unimaginative title gives no adequate idea of the wide range of centuries and interests which are here represented. Of the several volumes in this series which the present reviewer has read, this is by all means the most original and provocative.

Here are treatises on such controversial questions as the eucharistic presence, vigorous expositions of Scripture, discussions of certain aspects of worship, and forceful presentations of the duties of the clergy as pastors, priests, and preachers of the Word of God. In date the material ranges from St. Vincent's *Commonitory* in the fifth century to works of early twelfth century writers such as Ivo of Chartres and Guibert of Nogent. Most of the material, however, comes from that great flowering of the early Middle Ages, the Carolingian Renaissance. This is represented not only by conservative teachers such as Alcuin, Theodulph, and Rabanus

Maurus, but also, by highly controversial thinkers such as Ratramnus, Claudius of Turin, and the school of Lyons.

These writers are largely unknown to American theological students, whether Catholic or Protestant. That is precisely the value of this book. Both Catholic and Protestant will do well to learn how in these centuries both "literalists" and "spiritualists" were agreed on the intimate relation between the Eucharist, the Mystical Body, and the Holy Ghost. Both may likewise be surprised to find a Catholic bishop vigorously uttering some of the very challenges which later reappear in Luther's 95 *Theses*. Possibly some Anglicans can also profit by the rebukes which a twelfth century abbot heaps on priests who "suppose that they do not owe to their brothers the word of holy preaching."

Both editors are experienced scholars and their introductions are on the whole excellent. However, the anonymous *Address to the Clergy* in the final section cannot possibly be by St. Caesarius: it dates from the second quarter of the ninth century.

H. B. P., JR.

Richard of Saint-Victor; Selected Writings on Contemplation. Translated by Clare Kirchberger. Harper, 1957, pp. 263. \$3.75.

This volume is one of the series *Classics of the Contemplative Life* under the general editorship of E. Allison Peers. In a substantial introduction, the translator tells us that Richard was the first writer of the scholastic period to treat the higher levels of prayer as a distinct topic for methodical theological inquiry. He left many later medieval mystics in his debt by providing them with a simple and congenial adaptation of the teaching of the Arcopagite. Throughout this discussion, the constant reliance on secondary authorities (French-speaking scholars have taken the lead here) is tedious. A sec

tion is devoted to the influence of Richard in England even though, as the writer admits, his influence in that country was insignificant.

Most of the volume is devoted to translations from two books named after the Patriarch Benjamin. These are leisurely and rather abstract discussions of contemplative prayer. Because of their length and somewhat tedious style, many passages are omitted. The *Benjamin's* will mainly be of interest to readers who are experienced in the field of mystical literature. The *Four Degrees of Passionate Charity*, on the other hand, is a brief and very beautiful treatise that rises to a climax of unexpected force. The mysticism here is more Pauline, and it recalls Bishop Hall's *Christ Mystical*. Like the latter, it should be appreciated by any prayerful reader. There are a few shorter selections from miscellaneous other writings.

The material here given is marked by a calm tranquility, in sharp contrast to the challenge and "bite" of certain other mystics. Readers of this journal may be interested in Richard's insistence on the close links between contemplative prayer and other forms of intellectual endeavor. The binding of this American edition compares unfavorably with the attractive exterior of the British edition.

H. B. P., JR.

Further Papers on DANTE. By Dorothy L. Sayers. London: Methuen, New York: Harper's, 1957, pp. viii + 221. \$4.00.

Dorothy Sayers' *Further Papers* continue with the same scholarship, charm, and insight the studies begin in her *Introductory Papers on Dante*. In spite of the modest title, this volume is no mere sequel, and can easily be read by those who are not acquainted with the previous one. Each will in fact doubtless lead readers to the other, and to Miss Sayers' admirable translation. The first

paper, ". . . And Telling You a Story" is in effect a general survey of the *Divine Comedy*, viewed both as art and as theology, from "the powerful substructure of the *Inferno*" to "the great leaping shafts and pinnacles it was built to carry" (p. 36). Later come valuable expositions of two key sections—Canto 26 of the *Inferno* (the counsellors of fraud, and Ulysses' last voyage), and the Cornice of Sloth (*Purgatorio* 18-19). Other papers deal with "Dante's Cosmos," beginning with an amusing dialogue between Dante and Eddington, and with the relation of Dante to Thomas Aquinas, to Virgil, to Milton, and to the late Charles Williams. Williams certainly deserves more attention than some writers who have made more noise in the world. and Miss Sayers may well claim that his mystical-realistic novels and poems come close to being the kind of work for our day that Dante produced for his. For her at least he is the best interpreter of Dante next to Dante himself (p. 190). Whether he quite belongs in the company of the immortals where she places him remains to be determined; but the nomination is certainly worth making. One last word to the reader—do not by any means miss the note on the four levels of meaning (pp. 55-56), which is Dante's own introduction to the *Comedy*, and which Miss Sayers properly stresses as a central principle.

E. R. H.

Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution, 1660-1668. By Gerald R. Cragg. Cambridge University Press, 1957, pp. ix + 326. \$5.50.

With the Restoration of Crown and Church, Puritanism fell swiftly from its brief position of ecclesiastical-political dominance to one of suffering and humiliation, subjected for a generation to harsh disabilities and intermittent persecution motivated by fear and revenge even more than by religious intolerance.

How the Dissenters bore themselves amid this reverse of fortune, how they met the storm of persecution and endured until relief came in the Act of Toleration, how they sustained their morale, their religious faith, their corporate existence and sense of vocation in their time of adversity—such is the theme of this investigation, illuminated constantly from congregational records and the intimate documents of such Puritan leaders as Baxter, Bunyan, Calamy, John Owen, George Fox, and many others. It is the story of courage in a noble segment of English life competently and sympathetically told.

P. V. N.

White Kennett, 1660-1728, Bishop of Peterborough. By G. V. Bennett. Macmillan, 1957, pp. xii + 290. \$8.50.

During the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first three of the eighteenth, Kennett was a star of not less than second magnitude in the English ecclesiastical firmament; friend of Archbishops Tenison and Wake and of Gibson of London; formidable antagonist of Atterbury and the Nonjurors; stout defender of the Revolution settlement and the Hanoverian succession; an industrious and in some respects pioneering historian; and withal a conscientious and energetic bishop. Essentially a "moderate," he held and defended his positions with consistent appeal to precedent and the spirit of the British Constitution. In the Convocation controversies he played a leading part, bringing his historical learning to bear heavily against Atterbury's superficialities. Naturally he was hated and maligned by the "high-flyers," and indeed his bluntness of utterance made him vulnerable. A typical eighteenth-century ecclesiastic, though harder-working than most, he was avid for advancement; but it does not appear that the stand he took in politics was consciously motivated by

ambition. Rather was it the logical consequence of historical realities as he saw them.

Dr. Bennett's meticulous execution of this Thirlwall Prize Essay of 1955 has elicited high praise from Prof. Norman Sykes, than whom there is no greater authority in the area of the eighteenth-century Church of England. P. V. N.

American Catholicism. By John Tracy Ellis. University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. xiii + 208. \$3.00.

This book is one of the volumes included in "The Chicago History of American Civilization." It is intended, apparently, that this series offer both a "chronological" and a "topical" picture of American life to the ordinary reader who wishes to be better informed about American history. This is the sort of presentation which is given in *American Catholicism*, a book dealing with the story of the Roman Catholic Communion in the United States.

A work of this size dealing with so large a topic is bound to suffer badly from compression, and the author admits as much. Monsignor Ellis, therefore, has emphasized the place of his Church in the general American scene, in terms of a survey of the movements in which that Church has been active, and brief sketches of important persons in the story. Colonial Maryland receives the expected emphasis, along with a description of the problems arising from Roman Catholic immigration, and the probably not very well known origin and work of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Monsignor Ellis is also frankly apologetic: traditional American prejudice against Roman Catholicism is discussed in terms both of its origins in Tudor and Stuart England, and as revealed today in protests against Roman Catholic projects involving politics and the State.

The straitened conditions of Monsignor Ellis's volume seem to give his discussion at times an air of special pleading; he does not show much understanding of the reasons for this prejudice both in the past and the present. A defence of Roman Catholicism once introduced in this fashion needs a fuller discussion than the book allows.

Monsignor Ellis is rightly concerned throughout his book for a fuller appreciation on the part of Americans of what his Church has contributed to American life. His small book is useful for beginners, with its supplementary notes and reading list; but one hopes that he or one of his colleagues may give us the more extended and thorough presentation which his subject merits.

S. M. G.

Thomas Haweis, 1734-1820. By Arthur Skevington Wood. Macmillan, 1957, pp. vi + 292. \$7.50.

The long neglected subject of Wood's study was a not insignificant figure in the Evangelical Revival, a capital example of the awkward position in which that minority party found itself in the Latitudinarian age. The Evangelicals' isolation from their fellow-Churchmen was largely their own fault. A beneficed clergyman, Haweis, like Whitefield, took the proprieties of Church order lightly indeed, dividing his time between his Northamptonshire village parish and the service of Lady Huntingdon—even after the saintly Selina had severed her chapels from the Establishment. With dissenters he collaborated freely in itinerancy and in missionary enterprise. He is numbered among the founders of the London Missionary Society, with special interest in the South Seas. Professing himself content with the Anglican formularies—in the thoroughly Calvinistic interpretation which he put upon them and energetically defended—he confided to his diary that he considered the administration of

the Church "abominable," and the hierarchy (no doubt unwittingly) the "greatest enemies of the Cross of Christ."

Haweis made a distinct contribution to congregational hymnody; his *Richmond* is the traditional setting for Isaac Watts' "Joy to the World."

P. V. N.

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. Edited by F. L. Cross. Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. 1492 (double-column). \$17.50.

A magnificent reference volume like the standard Oxford "companions" and the Oxford Classical Dictionary. Its aim is to provide factual information on every aspect of Christianity, especially in its historical development, according to the publisher's announcement, and a sampling of its pages suggests that the aim has been splendidly carried out. There are over six thousand entries and nearly forty-six hundred brief bibliographies.

F. L. Cross is Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford. He has had the preparation of this work under his care since 1939, with the assistance at various times of several distinguished scholars. The list of contributors runs to more than two double-column pages, and includes many distinguished names among which those of C. K. Barrett, the late J. V. Bartlett, H. J. Carpenter, V. A. Demant, H. H. Farmer, S. L. Greenslade, the late Sir Frederic Kenyon, G. D. Kilpatrick, H. Knight, G. W. H. Lampe, D. M. Mackinnon, E. L. Mascall, R. C. Mortimer, C. B. Moss, T. M. Parker, Sir Maurice Powicke, the late G. L. Prestige, C. A. Simpson, N. Sykes, H. E. W. Turner, A. R. Vidler and H. G. Wood may be mentioned as familiar to our readers.

The print is fairly small but quite clear, the paper thin but opaque, the binding and format excellent. It seems to me we have greatly needed just such a volume for a long time, and this one

provides generously for our need—a great deal of information can be got on nearly fifteen hundred double column pages.

The Cross of Christ. By Vincent Taylor. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1956, pp. vi + 108. \$3.00.

For the beginner who has not mastered Dr. Taylor's three basic volumes on the subject of the Atonement (*Jesus and His Sacrifice*, *The Atonement in New Testament Teaching*, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*) these eight lectures delivered at Drew University should comprise a helpful introduction and prospectus. For those who are in Dr. Taylor's debt for the clarity and depth of his previous studies this short book states clearly his own understanding of the Atonement. His own view is made the more interesting by following an illuminating survey of the views of ten modern theologians.

He characterizes Christ's saving act as vicarious, representative, and sacrificial, calling forth from the believer the response of faith, love, obedience, and self-offering. In his own words, the content of that act is defined as follows: "First, the saving deed of Christ is the supreme revelation of the love of God for men. Secondly . . . an act of obedience to the Father's will. Thirdly . . . an act of submission to the judgement of God upon sin. Fourthly, the saving deed of Christ issues in a ministry of intercession in which He voices our inarticulate penitence and desire for reconciliation." w. j. w.

Faith, Hope, and Love. By Emil Brunner. Westminster Press, 1956, pp. 78. \$1.50.

Here is an excellent short book by a distinguished theologian that should deepen our preaching on I Cor. 13. Brunner probes behind faith, hope, and love, understanding them not as isolated "theological virtues," but seeking their unity. That unity is the new life in Christ. Faith

is related primarily to our acceptance of the past as the place where God has revealed himself decisively. The Cross removes the guilt that prevents our living in the present. Hope is our confidence in the future based not on wishful thinking, but on the certainty of God's promise. Christian hope frees us from anxiety about the future and allows us to live in the present. God pours his love into our hearts and makes us really alive in the present. "Love is just being there and acting." In this sense the love of Christ binds the three together.

w. j. w.

The Sacrifice of Christ. By C. F. D. Moule. The Seabury Press, 1957, pp. 58. Paper, \$1.25.

Like most ecumenically oriented theologians Professor Moule is eager to bridge the gap between "catholic" theories of the mass as sacrifice and offering and "protestant" theories of the finished sacrifice once-for-all consummated on Calvary's hill. This he does admirably for its short compass in his biblically developed ideas of Christ as the New Humanity, offering representative obedience to the Father's will and of the Church as an atoning fellowship. His correlation of Baptism in its once-for-all character with Calvary and of the Eucharist as the ever repeated, but derivative sacrifice of the Body of Christ are powerfully sketched for a sixty page paperback.

w. j. w.

Via Media. By E. L. Mascall. Seabury Press, 1957, pp. xvi + 171. \$2.50.

The subtitle of this book is, "An Essay in Theological Synthesis." The author's contention is that the orthodox view of basic Christian truths can be attained, appreciated, and understood only as *seemingly* incompatible notions of these truths are held in constant dynamic relation to each other. This contention is

illustrated by four examples: the doctrines of Creation, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Grace. These doctrines, respectively, involve the following "dual notions": that of *dependent reality*, *derived equality*, *unconfused union*, and *deified creaturehood*.

The discussion of these four points supplies a good summary of major Christian doctrine. The book, despite its diminutive appearance, is of a most substantial nature. Besides summarizing much Christian theology, the book also summarizes and handily states in one place the principal contentions of several of Dr. Maschall's previous books. References to these books are helpfully made in the text and a useful bibliography is also included.

A. A. V.

Mystery and Philosophy. By Michael B. Foster. S.C.M. Press, 1957. pp. 96. 12s. 6d.

This small book takes as its point of departure an archetype which the author constructs of much contemporary British and American thought. This thought, known generally as "the philosophy of analysis," has as its one goal and purpose *clarity*. Semantic investigation and regulation are the primary means advocated by which this goal can be achieved, and it is held that clarity of speech and the legitimacy of what one says vary in direct proportion to each other. On this basis, mystery has no legitimate place in human discourse.

The author goes on to develop the humanistic implications of the analysis school—how, for example, it eliminates the possibility of Revelation. The "scientific spirit" is, above all, humanistically oriented: this is shown to account for its treatment of, or ignorance of, holiness, grace, and mystery. The latter three are organically interrelated.

Biblical rather than metaphysical terms are the preference of the author. His po-

sition can be summarized by this quotation: "Holiness being a mystery, man can not discover rules for obtaining it. It is obtained by God's gift, and only revelation can show what ways of acting accord with it."

A. A. V.

The Moral Decision. By Edmond Cahn. Indiana University Press, 1955. pp. ix + 342. \$5.00.

A professor of law writes impressionistically of the light cast by American law and judicial method on the content and method of ethics. The analogy with respect to method is developed under headings such as "The moral constitution," "The nature of moral legislation," and "Due process of moral decision." This is intriguing, although the analogy has limitations which are not discussed. For example, the law allows no man to judge his own case but moral obligation requires just that.

The bulk of the book, however, is a series of meditations on some morally "prismatic" cases dealing with life and sex, death and taxes, business and government. In some of these, Mr. Cahn shows eloquence and poetic sensitivity. His view of the springs of moral judgment defies brief summary; it is suggested by the title of his earlier work, *The Sense of Injustice*.

W. G. K.

The Value Judgment. By W. D. Lamont. Philosophical Library, 1955. pp. xv + 335. \$6.00.

The author (Lecturer at the University of Glasgow) distinguishes sharply between the problem of value or goodness and that of duty or oughtness. In both of these branches of moral philosophy, he draws upon relevant analysis developed in specialized offshoots of the traditional field. In the present work he turns to economic theory, as in his earlier *Principles of Moral Judgment* he drew upon jurisprudence.

"What is value?" is considered a fruitless question. The subject of the book is the nature of the mental activity involved in valuation or attribution of goodness to things. Most of the book deals with judgments of comparative value. Here economic conceptions of "opportunity cost" and "common demand" are shown as applicable to valuation in general. Less space is devoted to simple attribution of goodness as an expression of approval, "the conative disposition to create or maintain a state of affairs." The ultimate ground of the attribution of goodness is held to be not teleological but organic; the process is grounded in "organic activity patterns" characteristic of our nature. W. G. K.

The Politics of English Dissent. By Raymond G. Cowherd. New York University Press, 1956, pp. 242. \$5.00.

A study of the religious motivation and promotion of those sweeping political and social measures which together transformed the face of England in the early nineteenth century, emphasizing "the Dissenting groups as the leaders of liberal reform and the Evangelicals of the Church of England as the principal exponents of humanitarian reform." The former afforded the lower and middle classes greater participation in public affairs; the latter provided underprivileged groups with larger opportunities to improve their social status and living conditions.

A first-rate bit of social history: the broad-front battle for freedom in which altruism and self-interest were strangely blended, and its spiritual undergirding in the Christian conscience. P. V. N.

Religionswissenschaftliches Wörterbuch, ed. by Franz König. Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1956, 956 pp.

In recent years several kinds of encyclopedias of religion have been pub-

lished. For instance, Vergilius Ferm's *An Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945) is useful to English speaking readers, but it is heavily slanted toward Judeo-Christian traditions at the expense of materia's dealing with non-Christian religions. Franz König's *Wörterbuch* is oriented primarily to the history and phenomenology of religions. It is a good companion to *Christus und die Religionen der Erde* (Ein Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte), also edited by Dr. König.

Although predominantly German, the contributors include some scholars from other European countries, America and Asia. In the main the articles are concise and well written, even though the quality is inevitably uneven. Bibliographies cited are mostly up-to-date, but some important works in English are overlooked. The alphabetical cross index (pp. xv-lxiv) is carefully prepared and should prove to be very useful.

J. M. K.

Henry Newman: an American in London, 1708-13. By Leonard W. Cowie. New York: Macmillan, 1956, pp. x + 272. \$6.00.

The little-known subject of this fascinating biography, descended from New England Puritan divines and converted to Anglicanism during his student-days at Harvard, sometime the College librarian, engaged for a while in commercial transactions between Boston and Newfoundland. Then going to England, he presently (perhaps at Dr. Bray's suggestion) became Secretary of the S. P. C. K., and "thereafter for thirty-five years his life is the story of the Society: its developing educational, social, and missionary work at home and overseas, its relations with Church and State." At one time he had prospects of appointment as Treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty. He aided in

Dean Berkeley's American educational project and in many another worthy cause. For a while he served as the English agent of the Province of New Hampshire.

This is the record of a fruitful and self-effacing life, and of the many friendships made in the course of it. P. V. N.

The Book of Books. The Story of the Old Testament. By Daniel-Rops. Translated by Donal O'Kelly. Illustrated by Fritz Kredel. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1956. pp. 166. \$3.75.

The Book of Life. The Story of the New Testament. By Daniel-Rops. Translated by Donal O'Kelly. Illustrated by Fritz Kredel. Kenedy, 1956. pp. 154. \$3.75.

The author is the French Roman Catholic author of *Sacred History* and *Jesus and His Times*. The present volumes are a somewhat briefer parallel to Walter Russell Bowie's *Story of the Bible*. Very simply and beautifully written.

Social Implications in the Urban Church. By Joseph H. Fichter. University of Chicago Press, 1956. pp. 248. \$5.50.

Here Father Fichter, the well-known author of *Southern Parish: The Dynamics of a City Church* and chairman of the Department of Sociology at Loyola University of the South, New Orleans, gives us another authoritative study of the urban parish in the Roman Church. Utilizing the approach of a social scientist, he attempts a descriptive study of the urban parochial situation, employing a typology of parishioners based upon their functional significance in the life of the parish. Parishioners are thus conceptualized in terms of varying levels of participation, and their functional roles are analyzed in terms of social mobility, supra-parochial associations and interest groupings, the functioning ethos of the

wider urban social situation, etc. The outcome is a penetrating study which cuts through superficial generalizations concerning the nature of Roman Catholic social solidarity in the urban situation, for example, and shows this cohesiveness to be primarily functional in character, rather than primarily ideological. Also, a much-needed corrective is provided in his emphasis upon the complexities of the urban situation within a parish, still too superficially understood by most.

The interesting concluding section deals with the problems of the sociology of the urban parish and their implications for study from the social scientific point of view. Such important methodological considerations as the relevance of normative judgments, ideological motivation, sacramentalism, etc., to the sociologist's discipline, are raised and discussed.

The book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the meaning of church membership, and the role the social scientist can play in the development of a more adequate understanding of the total urban parish situation. This book is for every serious student of the urban church. R. K. N.

About the Bible. By Frank W. Moyle. Scribner, 1956. pp. 182. \$3.50.

A book written to open the Bible to the reader. What J. B. Phillips and C. E. Raven say in the laudatory paragraphs printed on the dust jacket is true: the volume is fresh and interesting, written with verve and knowledge; the point of view is up-to-date and intelligent. A useful book provided it leads the reader to the Bible: but of doubtful utility if it is taken as a guide to interpreting the Book. For example, the vivid "realism" of St. Mark is pointed out, but that St. Mark has a theology there is no suggestion at all.

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